Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-146
Friday
29 July 1988

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FBIS-SOV-88-146 *29 July 1988*

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Destruction Process of RSD-10 Missiles
LD2907073788 Moscow Tass in English 0647 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—The Soviet intermediate range missiles RSD-10 to be destroyed under the Soviet-American INF Treaty will be scrapped in the missile range Kapustin yar (in the lower reaches of the Volga River).

Twice a month, on the 15th and 30th, for three years explosions will rock the range. Seventy-five per cent of the stocks of the missiles RSD-10 are to be destroyed there. On each of those days, nine missiles, three in a bundle at a time, will be destroyed through setting off the second stages of the missiles and an additional charge (700-750 kg of TNT). These operations have been practised with the use of training missiles. The explosion will leave a crater 15-18 metres deep and 45 metres in diameter. The wrecks of a blasted missile completely burn down in a matter of 35 seconds. Bulldozers in operation in the range will fill up the craters and prepare the ground for the next scrapping procedure. According to the schedule, 80 per cent of the missiles to be scrapped there will be destroyed in the course of the first stage (29 months), and the remaining 20 per cent—in the course of the subsequent seven months.

Only one of the components of the weapon will be destroyed in Kapustin yar—the missile in container. The two other elements of the complex—the self-propelled launcher and the transport vehicle will be "disarmed" in the Sarny elimination base in the Ukraine. Later hoists with a cargo lifting capacity of up to 120 tonnes will be mounted on the chassis of the scrapped missiles at the Odessa heavy-duty crane building amalgamation in cooperation with the West German Liebherr company. The cranes are designed for use in civil engineering.

'Notable' Official on Arms Control Problems
LD2907082288 Moscow TASS in English 0756 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—One of the most urgent problems today is the one concerning the ways of slowing down and then putting an end to the arms race. This view has been expressed in the latest issue of the journal INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS by Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister. Progress in that field, he notes, will depend in a large measure on the West's preparedness to start a real revision of its security strategy, whose fundamentals were formed during the troubled "cold war" years.

As far as the USSR is concerned, he continues, we have self-critically appraised the 40-year old history of participation in the arms race, and have drawn the conclusion that we have permitted ourselves to yield to the predominant military-strategic vision of the international developments. The tensions which emerged in the world meant almost automatically to us that [it was] time that we, in common with the West, started forging additional arms. And this repeated until the arsenals have proved to be packed full with weapons.

"Our involvement in the arms race before strategic parity with the USA was reached, was forced, deplorably, an inevitable one", Aleksandr Bessmertnykh notes. The USSR, he stresses, could not but produce atomic weapons in conditions when the nuclear monopoly of the USA threatened far-reaching military and political consequences to the Soviet Union. The attainment of strategic parity made continued nuclear weapons race senseless. Moreover, a further build-up of the levels of nuclear weapons may undermine the insurance value of parity and at some point of escalation it will no longer work as a guarantor of strategic stability. Therefore the task set of effecting deep cuts in the strategic weapons on the mutual basis becomes the key trend in the foreign policy activities, which, while preserving the USSR's national security, at the same time promises a serious saving in the funds and resources for a restructuring of the economy, the notable Soviet politician points out.

Preparations for U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Experiment
LD2907084288 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] San Francisco July 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Algunov:

Practically everything is ready for a Soviet-U.S. experiment on the main nuclear test site of the U.S. Department of Energy in Nevada, John Walsh, an official spokesman of the test site administration, told TASS.

32 Soviet experts are now working in Mercury where the site's administrative centre is located.

They came to Nevada in two groups in April and June. Last spring, they participated in a series of joint research which helped improve methods of taking check measurements and processing seismic data obtained during nuclear testing.

Walsh said that the goal of the programme was the development of reliable methods of checking yields of nuclear text explosions.

This was exceptionally important from the viewpoint of verification of agreements concluded by the sides, including the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty, he went on.

The participants in the joint experiments seek also to promote the Soviet-U.S. intergovernmental talks on a nuclear test ban in Geneva.

Walsh said that joint efforts by Soviet and American scientists helped build confidence and understanding between the two powers, adding that without them further steps in the field of arms control were just unthinkable.

The scientists have already corrected, to a large measure, the divergence in the sides' assessment of yields of underground nuclear tests in the past years.

The experiments near Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan last year and in Nevada this year unequivocally showed that even low-yield nuclear tests cannot go unnoticed.

In mid-August, approximately between August 14 and 18, a nuclear device of a specific yield will be detonated at a depth of about 700 metres.

Using precision seismic instruments to be located at various distances from the explosion epicentre, scientists are to restore the main parameters of the charge and compare them with original data.

A group of American experts are now preparing, together with Soviet colleagues, for another experiment in Semipalatinsk.

Corrtex measurement equipment, which was used on the Nevada test site, has recently been brought to Kazakhstan.

Walsh described the joint work as very interesting and productive.

He said that the good organisation of preliminary work, high skills of experts and desire of both sides to achieve positive results left no doubt that the forthcoming experiment in Nevada would be successful.

U.S. Applies 'Double Standard' to Disarmament

LD2807193988 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Boghachev

Max Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, tries to take advantage of problems of verification of the observance of the drafted agreements on disarmament in order to achieve unilateral military advantages for the United States.

In an interview to the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL Kampelman, specifically, said that the difficulties with counting mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) should be removed by banning and destroying these weapon systems. Meanwhile the head of the U.S. delegation proposes to resolve similar difficulties in verification of the number of submarine-launched cruise missiles by quite a different way—by lifting all restrictions on development and deployment of SLCM.

Kampelman himself explains such "double standards" in the solution of similar problems. According to him, "Russians have a considerable edge" in Mobile ICBM, so these missiles should be banned and eliminated. The United States is ahead for the number of submarine-launched cruise missiles. So, according to Kampelman, the problem of verification should be resolved by giving Americans a free hand in the further upgrading and quantitiative build-up of SLCM. Why is it that the United States does not want to resolve the problem of monitoring submarine-launched cruise missiles by inspection of ships, the correspondent of DER SPIEGEL asked Kampelman. It must be admitted that the answer of the American diplomat was quite candid. He said the United States does not have the slightest intention to conclude such agreements as would restrict the U.S. Naval Force.

Just a few years ago Washington presented itself as favouring in principle the strictest measures of verification of the observance of any agreements with the Soviet Union. The problem of on-site inspections any time and in any area has been the hobby-horse of U.S. diplomats over decades. It is no secret that the U.S. side has used this problem in the past also for disrupting agreements that did not suit Washington.

Times have changed. Washington's claims to the role of a champion of openness in the military area have weakened considerably during the latest rounds of talks with the Soviet Union on strategic offensive arms.

It is characteristic that the disintegration of the myth about the United States' unshakeable adherence to the idea of comprehensive on- site verification also revealed Washington's real and unsavoury stand concerning "equal and balanced" reductions in some classes of strategic offensive arms.

Geneva Consultations on Chemical Weapons End

LD2807200788 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 28 TASS—The ninth round of Soviet-American consultations on prohibition of chemical weapons ended here today.

In accordance with the decisions, reached in the course of the Moscow summit meeting, the two sides had atborough consideration of outstanding issues of the would-be convention on comprehensive prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons, and also confidence-building measures both on the multilateral and bilateral basis. The consultations will continue.

The Soviet delegation at the consultations was headed by the USSR's representative at the conference on disarmament Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin, the American delegation—by the USA's representative at the conference on disarmament Ambassador Max Friedersdorf.

Missile Launch Documents Submitted in Geneva
PM2907094288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "At the Geneva Conference"]

[Text] Geneva, 28 Jul—At the disarmament conference today, the USSR delegation, in parallel with the U.S. delegation, submitted as official documents the text of the joint statement at summit level in Moscow and the text of the agreement between the USSR and the United States on notifications of launches of ICBM's and SLBM's.

Economist Bogomolov Discusses East Bloc Diversity
PM2607104588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Academician Oleg Timofeyevich Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System, by A. Novikov under the rubric "Saturday Conversations": "Hopes and Difficulties"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] We begin the cycle of conversations about the problems of and prospects for the development of the world system of socialism by publishing this item. Today's interview is with Academician Oleg Timofeyevich Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System.

[Novikov] My first question will probably be somewhat banal since almost every other interview now begins with the words: "We previously thought that,...but how are things really?" Well then, this is precisely how the truth must be reconstructed. Thus, we were previously accustomed to thinking that the world socialist system is a problem-free area of universal prosperity. Obviously, this is not at all the case, for where there are no problems, there's no life. Moreover, M.S. Gorbachev even stated at the 19th all-union party conference that "world socialism is going through a difficult crucial period." How does the real, living face of the socialist system look?

[Bogomolov] The world of socialism by no means constitutes a uniform colorless picture—it has a wealth of colors and shades, although this diversity was not stressed for a long time. For at the dawn of the existence of our society, Lenin said that many countries will come to socialism, but not all in the same way. Today we are seeing for ourselves the correctness of these predictions. In fact, the socialist world is displaying great diversity of methods and forms and even, if you like, great diversity in some of the aims of building a new society. This is by no means a sign of the weakness of the new system, but a quite normal phenomenon—even evidence of its strength—because the broader the range of color, the richer the canvas itself. Ideas of socialism take shape as a result of the synthesis of many countries' experience and as a result of the critical analysis of individual attempts to resolve particular tasks.

Societies even in individual socialist countries are also quite diverse and, to a certain extent, pluralistic in terms of their interests. But this term—"pluralism of interests"—may also be applied to the socialist world as a whole. This does not mean that there is nothing to rally or unite our countries. On the contrary, there are some fundamental interests and aims which coincide. But these are the merely common traits against a backdrop of ever increasing diversity. However, one should probably not underestimate either the diversity or the similarity of mutual influence. The world in general is interconnected and the intermingling of many economic, social, and political processes can be perceived particularly strongly in the socialist world.

[Novikov] What are the most acute problems that the countries of socialism are encountering today?

[Bogomolov] By asking that question, you are urging me to make certain generalizations—to deduce some common characteristics rather than show the specific nature of each country's development. Well then, this is justifiable since at the current stage a certain commonality is manifesting itself in the problems that have cropped up even in the development of countries that are extremely different from one another.

Almost all—without exception—countries of socialism are encountering quite complex economic problems and are at the peculiar stage of switching from an extensive-type economy to an intensive economy and from the former command-edict model of economic management to a different mode based on economic influence accordingly. It is not only our country that is effecting this transition. It is of an international character and has become objectively necessary. So that even in those areas where there has been insufficiently broad discussion of questions of economic reform and new models of organizing the socialist economy, even in these countries such processes have become imminent and, sooner or later, will become the subject of conscious policy.

This problem—the renewal of the economic system—is a common one. This is occasioned by the fact that socialist countries, unfortunately, have slowed their development and are lagging increasingly behind other industrially developed states in terms of the level of labor productivity, technical progress, and standard of living.

This is in the economic sphere. But I think that politics also contains many problems that are common to many countries. For instance, the need to democratize all public life and for a quest, if you will, for new substance for the very concept of "socialist democracy." In our country we associate this with broadening glasnost and with the problem of the electivity and replaceability of the leadership—these topics were broadly discussed at the party conference. This is also the source of the greatest problem—the demarcation of functions between party and state and the implementation of the party's leading role in society not on the basis merely of administrative intervention in political and economic life but by using methods characteristic of it, such as political conviction via party members holding particular leading posts in the state apparatus.

All these questions unite the socialist countries. But at the same time there is also a great deal arising from the specific nature of a particular country. Take Poland, which has still not overcome the prolonged political and social crisis. The issues of national accord, inflation, and

the shortage of many types of output—these problems confront Poland in a special way and this is how Poland differs, for instance, from neighboring Czechoslovakia and the GDR. But these countries have their own, equally acute problems.

[Novikov] What you have said compels me to ask the following question: We say that from time immemorial certain socioeconomic ailments, for instance, unemployment, inflation, and so on have been inherent in capitalism. If the overwhelming majority or rather all socialist countries have now encountered similar or even identical problems and difficulties—the bureaucratization of public life, lack of democratism, economic extensiveness—does that not mean that some phenomena have been inherent in our system too from time immemorial? Or, perhaps, this is the result of thoughtless imitation of the Soviet example, which— as we have now admitted—was far from irreproachable?

[Bogomolov] You see, no modern society can develop without certain contradictions and problems. Ultimately, contradictions are one of the driving forces of development. But it is perplexing that these problems are very much of the same type and, what is more, in a large group of countries. In general these countries are different—with different histories, traditions, populations, and different levels of development. Yet, mind you, they encounter identical problems! Poor quality and shortage of many goods (if we are talking about the economy), and low growth rates. Now they have been joined by price increases, inflationary trends, and so on. What is the reason for this?

I believe that the point is that many socialist countries have begun to build a new society while strongly influenced by the model of socialism prevailing in the Soviet Union, which today is in need of restructuring. This model is of the lowest type, based on command-edict principles, which preclude the development of real commodity-money relations and a genuine market.

If we are talking about the political system, then it is the kind of model in which command-edict methods once again supplanted the development of democracy and the broad participation of the masses in decisionmaking. There is no doubt that this model was not only an example but to a certain extent was also foisted upon them, because the same principle of democratic centralism was in force in relations between socialist countries as was proclaimed in domestic policy development: subordination to the center, imposition of experience, and the desire to unify the socialist world. This gave rise to conflicts in the past. Suffice it to recall the events of 1948 when Yugoslavia was thrown out of the socialist camp—because it did not want to thoughtlessly copy this Stalinist model, which prevailed virtually as the sole model.

Now the negative consequences of development based on that model have been detected in many countries. Attempts were made at varying times and with varying success to deviate from this model and Yugoslavia was, perhaps, the first to embark on this path. That is why it was condemned for so long—its experience did not fit in with the prevailing ideas. Hence all kinds of labels were pinned on it. But then this process went further, and we know about the economic reforms which were initiated in many European socialist countries during the sixties. Now the quest has also extended to the political superstructure. Thus, it is a question not only of economic but also of political reforms.

Today in the development of the socialist world we are running into various ideological trends and varying approaches to the social structure. We are also coming into collision both with a Stalinist, so to speak, trend, which —well, let's be bold about it!—has appeared in the world of socialism and also with neo-Stalinism, characterized by a departure from the extreme and most distorted manifestations of Stalinism—mass repressions and so on—but which retains the essence of command-edict management that alienates working people from the means of production and from political power. At the same time we see a very powerful trend gathering pace—a trend which may be characterized as the trend of renewal and which sets the task of bringing socialism to a truly new qualitative level and giving it a second wind. I think that this trend will gain the upper hand in future.

[Novikov] Will the practice that prevailed in relations between the Soviet Union and socialist countries—both in economics and politics—be revised? For you yourself said that command-edict methods prevailed, including in relations between socialist countries, and if you take into consideration that the USSR nonetheless occupies the commanding positions in the world of socialism, then it is easy to guess who was in command.

[Bogomolov] We have already done away with that practice and in this context the working meeting between the leaders of the CEMA member-countries of November 1986 was of very great significance. The need to observe the fundamental principles of equitableness, mutual advantage, and noninterference in internal affairs was stressed there—at least in the Soviet side's speech—and it was said that the practice of foisting experience on one another is quite inadmissible. We are indeed observing how countries demonstrate their independence in their assessments of and approaches to many problems. The uniformity of viewpoints is by no means the strong point in CEMA activity. Now we encounter great diversity of opinion when discussing reform of the mechanism of cooperation in CEMA. Previously this was atypical, and if there were any disagreements we tried not to advertize them but, on the contrary, to draw a veil over them and hide them a little more deeply. But today the most correct solutions are born from this struggle of opinion.

[Novikov] What difficulties above all are the processes of socialist integration coming up against, in particular, in the economic sphere?

[Bogomolov] Ensuring currency convertibility is a very important task. But it is not, of course, worth putting in first place because the cooperation system is under the adverse influence of many internal problems: scarcity of commodities within countries, shortages, imbalances, and slow growth rates. All this reduces the countries' potential to supply goods to the market.

Thus the main cause of the difficulties in cooperation lies, in my opinion, in the internal development of individual countries. But at the same time we are entitled to say that the cooperation mechanism and its economic institutions and levers are not working as the times require, and they have lagged behind the requirements of economic life. They were designed for operating in conditions of a command economy and when there is a shift toward new methods within countries the cooperation mechanism, its institutions, and levers must also be changed.

Ultimately socialist countries want to arrive at a common market, which would enable not only goods and capital, but also manpower to flow comparatively freely from country to country. But this is a long road, and now the main thing is to bring into operation certain levers which would help implement cooperation right now. Here direct commercial ties between enterprises, the creation of joint enterprises, and new forms of specialization and cooperation, in particular, joint scientific and technical development—with subsequent organization of production—of new contemporary equipment should occupy the main place.

An internal market is necessary—not only for consumer goods but also for means of production— so that joint enterprises can procure the requisite raw materials and supplies on the internal market and not be the appendages of a particular ministry's material and technical supply system. That does not correspond with the nature of a joint enterprise. A joint enterprise is independent and autonomous and cannot be subordinated to any ministry. In our conditions, if you are not subordinate to a ministry you are left without raw materials, fuel, and supplies, and no one will provide you with supplies. That is why in conditions of economic accountability [khozraschet] many of our enterprises prefer to have a state order for almost the entire volume of production in order to guarantee their raw materials supply. But what are things like for a joint enterprise that cannot have a state order?

Economically valid prices are necessary, prices that accord with prices on the world market. Unfortunately, there are great distortions here. Things that should be very costly are cheap in our country and vice versa. It is incomprehensible, for instance, why fuel is so cheap in our country in comparison with the world price. Apart from anything else this, in particular, leads to wasteful expenditure of fuel.

Lastly, correct exchange correlations between currencies and the possibility of exchanging one national currency for another in order to buy goods on another market are needed. All this is not so simple to introduce because our internal mechanism is still not very well tuned today, and the balance of transactions between countries is still not in equilibrium. But all the same, some steps in this direction can already be taken and people are working on this even now within the CEMA framework.

[Novikov] One last question. Hitherto there has been no totally objective assessment of what is happening in certain socialist countries. What, in your opinion, is the reason for this and how far is it justified?

[Bogomolov] I think that this is the result of our previous opinions and old stereotypes. After all, in the past any idea voiced in the press concerning another socialist country was seen almost as the official government and CPSU Central Committee stance. I think that this is abnormal because there are no questions which could not form the subject of scientific analysis and, correspondingly, one should publicly expound the conclusions of this analysis. But at present these topics remain, as it were, taboo topics although they are no secret to the public—both in the West and in socialist countries. Because the public obtains information all the same and forms its own opinion. But I think that this situation will gradually be rectified. At in any case greater freedom to speak out on these questions is needed for the cause of socialism and for the development of socialist theory.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing

Views Israeli Envoys' Visit

LD2807181288 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, as usual on Thursday, a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists was held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Center concerning current international political issues.

The questions to which Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Department at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, responded included one on the presence of an Israeli diplomatic delegation in Moscow. Vadim Perfilyev answered the question as follows:

As we have previously said in news conferences, the Soviet Union agreed in principle to the request of the Israeli side to send some Israeli diplomats to Moscow to be briefed about the department protecting Israeli interests at the Netherlands Embassy in Moscow. The Israeli side agreed to the strict technical terms of this visit. In this respect, we reiterate that the well-known Soviet stand toward settling the issue of relations between the Soviet Union and Israel is still unchanged, and that this visit has nothing to do with this issue.

Vadim Perfilyev then answered other questions from journalists. In reply to a query by a KUNA correspondent on the length of the stay of this delegation in Moscow, its composition, and those Soviet officials with whom the delegation will meet, Vadim Perfilyev replied that the delegation consists of six persons of technical status, that they were given visas for 2 months, that they will meet with representatives of the Netherlands Embassy and be briefed on the department of Israeli interests at the embassy, and that meetings with Soviet officials are not included in the program.

In response to a question by the correspondent of the U.S. PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER concerning the implications of this visit by the Israeli delegation with regard to the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Israel, Vadim Perfilyev reiterated that the visit has nothing to do with the issue of resumed diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. He again stressed that the Israeli diplomats' visit is of a purely technical nature, and that the Israeli side had agreed to these restricted technical conditions covering the visit to Moscow by this group of Israeli diplomats.

Dicusses POW's in Afghanistan

LD2807225188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] A briefing on current issues in international politics was held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center in Moscow on 28 July. A large portion of the briefing was devoted to the situation in Afghanistan. Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said, in part:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] Kabul and other towns in Afghanistan are still being subjected to systematic rocket bombardment. As a result of these terrorist acts, civilians are being killed—old men, women, and children. In the last 6 weeks alone, 177 rockets were fired at Kabul, which resulted in 138 people being killed and 170 others wounded. These crimes are committed by those who have no interest in settling the Afghan problem and who do not want peace in Afghanistan. None other than Islamic extremists creep up on towns and launch rockets at them, rockets that bear various foreign markings, mainly U.S. and British. The new rocket bombardments of residential areas, the terrorist blasts in public places, and the killings in the streets clearly indicate that the channels for the supply of weapons, including rockets, are being broadened even further. Apparently a number of countries—including Pakistan, with direct aid and across whose territory the weapons are being supplied—do not want to part with the Afghan issue, which they have now been exploiting in every possible way for many years.

Recently, the Pakistani newspaper FRONTIER POST, in referring to a press release by the Alliance of Seven, reported that the question of Soviet prisoners of war had been considered at the alliance meeting on 13 July, and that the leadership of the alliance had announced its readiness to begin contacts with representatives of the Soviet Union for holding talks on repatriating the POW's.

In this connection, I would like to say that the Soviet Union is gravely concerned about the fate of the servicemen captured by the armed Afghan opposition, and that it is ready to consider the most diverse ways of securing their release, without ruling anything out. [end recording]

Comments on Afghan Situation

LD2807132488 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Moscow July 28 TASS—Systematic missile bombardments of Kabul and other cities of Afghanistan are still continued. As a result of these terrorist acts, civilians—old men, women and children—are killed, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today. [passage omitted]

The spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs refuted a report from Pakistan by the REUTER news agency which asserted with reference to one of commanders of rebel units that three Soviet officers had been taken prisoner and another one had been killed in Shindand, 80 km south of Herat.

Vadim Perfilyev stated: "All this absolutely does not conform to reality, and one can only express surprise that such an authoritative news agency, which takes so much care of its reputation, uses such unverified and questionable sources". [passage omitted]

Says Carlucci To Visit 1 Aug

LD2807144588 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci arrives for an official visit in the USSR on August 1, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vadim Perfilyev said at a briefing here today.

The U.S. defense secretary will arrive in the Soviet Union at the invitation of USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov. During the stay in the USSR the U.S. defense secretary will be given an opportunity to visit and familiarize himself with a number of facilities of the Soviet Armed Forces. He will tour the USSR and during the tour will continue his familiarization with the USSR Armed Forces.

During his visit he will be received by President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrey Gromyko.

Previews Genscher Visit

LD2807133388 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—The working visit of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice-chancellor and minister for foreign affairs, who is due to arrive in Moscow tomorrow, is proof of the growing intensity and meaningfulness of the Soviet-West German political dialogue, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said today.

He told the briefing here that in keeping with the protocol on consultations, talks will be held on July 30 between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher. This is the third meeting of the Soviet and West German foreign ministers this year. It is planned to hold an in-depth exchange of views on the state of and prospects for the development of bilateral relations and on the topical international issues, including the state of things at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states-participants in the meeting on European security and cooperation and approaches to building a common European home.

The deepening of the political dialogue, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said, is accompanied with an active search for new forms of economic cooperation that would create models for cooperation designed for a long term. This includes the planned participation of West German firms in the implementation of major projects in the USSR—in a modernisation of the light and food industries, in developing the resources of the Kola Peninsula, in building oil and gas refining complexes in West Siberia. There are also good prerequisites for cooperation in the exploration of outer space and peaceful uses of nuclear energy, in the training of engineers and managers, in the field of medicine and medical equipment.

In the course of Genscher's visit questions will be discussed pertaining to preparations for the visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the Soviet Union. The Soviet side attaches much significance to the upcoming meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Moscow in October this year and in Bonn in the first half of 1989. These meetings, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said, will determine the priority trends in our bilateral relations, will make it possible to broaden mutual understanding on issues of security and disarmament.

Views Current Cambodian Talks

LD2807154488 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—"The talks held between representatives of the four Kampuchean parties who gathered for the first time together for an 'unofficial meeting' in the city of Bogor (Indonesia), point to a possibility of arranging a fruitful dialogue. They also point to a possibility of tackling domestic problems by Kampucheans themselves," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

A 7-point programme for a peaceful settlement proposed by Hun Sen, chairman of the Kampuchean Council of Ministers, he went on to say, can become a constructive basis for a settlement in Kampuchea. One of the most important tasks is to find a solution which would guarantee no return of the Pol Pot regime of genocide.

Touching on the situation in the Asian and Pacific region as a whole, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman called attention of journalists to the Soviet comprehensive programme for ensuring peace, security, equality and mutually advantageous cooperation with respect to the region, which had been set out by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok two years ago. "In the ensuing time," said V. Perfilyev, "the Soviet Union took specific moves to ease tension, lessen military confrontation and to expand participation in trade and economic processes in the region. They include, above all, a decision on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the USSR's Asian part under the Soviet-American understandings, specific steps to normalize the situation in Afghanistan, which are a model for settling other regional conflicts."

The political dialogue with the region's countries, which is becoming a permanently operating factor, has been considerably stepped up. Cooperation has been successfully developing with most states of the region, and noticeable changes are taking place in Soviet-Chinese relations.

Cooperation with such regional organizations as ESCAP, the Asian Bank of Development and the Conference on Pacific Cooperation is assuming growing importance. The USSR established the Soviet National Committee on Asian and Pacific Economic Cooperation.

"The political dialogue in the region within the general process of improving the international situation," pointed out the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, "revealed quite a number of similar positions between the USSR and many countries of the region on pivotal world problems. We firmly hope that the motion into which the Asian and Pacific region came, will lead it to peace and stability. On its part, the Soviet Union is ready to further this in every way."

Bloc States Decry Treatment of UN Envoys
LD2907083088 Moscow TASS in English 0700 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 29 TASS—Representatives of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia to the United Nations have addressed a letter to the U.N. secretary general citing fresh facts of unlawful and discriminatory measures by the U.S. authorities aimed against the independent implementation of the functions by their permanent missions.

One of the latest such measures has been the demand that they notify about the routes of their travel and the places where they put at in night time. Another evidence of the discriminatoy attitude to some countries, in the first place to the socialist ones, has been the demands that they apply to the bureaus servicing foreign missions for reserving tickets for travel by air and train, for reserving accomodation at hotels, the letter says.

The representatives of Poland, Bulgaria, the GDR and Czechoslovakia pointed out the unprovoked, arbitrary and totally unfounded character of such actions by the USA, in breach of its committments to the international community, and urged the U.N. secretary general to solicit the U.S. authorities for the speediest cancelling of the unlawful and discriminatory measures. The letter has been issued as the official document of the U.N. General Assembly.

United States & Canada

Paper Comments on Bush, Dukakis Election Chances

PM2907102588 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Jul 88 p 15

[Ya. Zasurskiy article: "The Presidential Marathon: George Bush or Michael Dukakis?"]

[Text] In the U.S. presidential elections, which are to take place 8 November and on the morning of 9 November, we will learn who is to replace Ronald Reagan in the White House in January 1989. However, impatient journalists and well-established researchers are in a hurry to cast their predictions. On 20 April, IZVESTIYA published an item from its New York correspondent A. Shalnev, "The United States: Is the Next President a Certainty?" in which he said that "even now we can say who is going to be the next U.S. president." At that time, Bush's victory seemed certain to our IZVESTIYA correspondent.

On 9 June, Prof Ellen Mickiewicz of Emory University in Atlanta, where she is head of research into Soviet television and the Soviet mass media at the Carter Center, told me with no less certainty that the next U.S. president would be Michael Dukakis. It is quite possible that today A. Shalnev would agree with Ellen Mickiewicz, as the situation has changed in 3 months: Today Dukakis has a 5-10 percent lead over Bush in the public opinion polls. In the 3 and ½ months remaining until the elections, the situation could change again more than once, and for us it is now more vital to examine the strengths and weaknesses of each of the contenders for the White House and the special features of their political programs.

The election campaign is now entering the final stage, as party conventions get under way: The Democrats gathered in Atlanta 18-21 July and the Republicans will be holding their convention in New Orleans 15-18 August. Both Dukakis and Bush are assured of being nominated as candidates for the presidency and so the only task left is to decide on the candidates for the vice presidency.

The Governor [subhead]

Dukakis is currently governor of the state of Massachusetts. He is of Greek origin—his grandfather is a Greek from the island of Lesbos. Greek traders in various cities throughout the United States have enthusiastically put posters up in their store windows that read: "Dukakis for President!" And in Greece, in the village where his grandfather was born, they are waiting for the tourists.

Dukakis professes the Orthodox faith but his Greek origin is not a dominant factor in him. He is a fairly typical representative of the American ruling elite and received his education at prestigious centers of learning—he got his bachelor of arts degree at Swarthmore College in 1955 and a doctor of jurisprudence degree from Harvard University. Until his election in 1974 as governor of the state of Massachusetts, he worked for the legal firm "Hill and Barlow" and was elected to the state legislative assembly.

Nevertheless, his Greek origin does guarantee him the support of a considerable proportion of ethnic groups. Dukakis' wife, Kitty, is of Jewish origin. She is actively campaigning for Dukakis. Because of this, people in the United States are saying that, should Dukakis win, America will have its first Jewish "first lady." This is helping Dukakis draw the Jewish segment of the population over to his side. Dukakis is in favor of social programs, which should attract a substantial proportion of the working population—the so-called "blue-collar workers."

Dukakis' main difficulties have arisen in connection with the South and those conservative-minded Democrats who voted for Reagan in 1980 and 1984. Here a great deal depends on who is chosen as candidate for the vice presidency and on how relations develop between Dukakis and Jesse Jackson during the pre-election battles. Jesse Jackson has insisted he has the right to be nominated as candidate for the vice presidency. Public opinion polls conducted in the spring showed that Dukakis would defeat Bush today as long as Jesse Jackson was not the candidate for vice president. This is because although he would draw black voters, his selection would alienate a substantial proportion of the population affected by racist sentiments. This was the basis of A. Shalnev's April prediction.

Jesse Jackson is a very strong candidate. In this year's primaries, he attracted a considerable proportion of the white population. He has fully demonstrated his high intellectual capabilities: In the opinion of most observers, Jackson is more able than both Bush and Dukakis and is also the most expressive and colorful of all the presidential candidates. However, under U.S. conditions, his race means that today he has no serious chance of success.

The tactics of the fight for the White House are such that in order to triumph, Dukakis must emerge as victor in the biggest states—New York and California—or take the South. If he takes California, this will be sufficient for him to secure a total victory even without the South. This means that his partner must be either a Californian or a Southerner, which would help him to secure the corresponding votes.

Dukakis' choice was a senator from the state of Texas, L. Bentsen, who in 1970 defeated G. Bush in the midterm Senate elections. Dukakis is counting on attracting Southern conservatives with the help of this conservative Texan millionaire, but he risks losing the support of northern liberals and black Americans.

A difficult point for Dukakis is, of course, his relations with Jesse Jackson. During the New York primary, Jackson appealed to blacks while Dukakis appealed to Jews. By supporting Dukakis, Mayor Koch of New York City succeeded in playing the Jewish and black populations against each other. And so these two important elements of the American electorate, as they say in the United States, or, to put it simply, the voters, have been set apart. It was important for Dukakis to gain Jackson's support and somehow smooth over this conflict. Black voters will not vote against Dukakis: They simply will not turn out to the polling stations if Jackson does not support Dukakis. And this could give Bush the advantage. In Atlanta, however, Dukakis and Jackson agreed on joint action, thereby strengthening the Democrats' chances.

Another difficulty facing Dukakis is that he must fight for the right-wing Democratic vote. If, 4 years ago, in 1984, all Democrats had voted for Mondale, he would have won. But conservative-minded Democrats voted for Reagan. Consequently. Dukakis, who is renowned for his liberal views, must, to put it crudely, move toward the center and to the right if he is to secure these votes.

Public opinion polls have shown that the Americans are tired of a Republican administration, which increases Dukakis' chances.

The Vice President [subhead]

George Bush is an experienced politician and so it would be naive to predict his defeat. I was warned against this by an editor at THE WASHINGTON POST—Tom Wilkinson, who pointed out that Bush has some strong factors working to his advantage. First, Bush is Reagan's successor, and in the eyes of many Americans, Reagan has achieved considerable success with the economy—he has cut inflation and reduced unemployment. However, social contrasts in the United States have simultaneously increased, as has the gap between rich and poor. Moreover, a new category of people has appeared who did not exist in America before: the homeless. The estimates of their number vary: There are 300,000 of them according to official statistics, but the statistics of progressive organizations set the number at 3 million. In one way or another, they are a reality of American life. Before, the homeless did not exist, and now they do, which is also a result of Reagan's policies. But on the whole, the economic situation has improved for the average American. This is, of course, a plus for Bush. Reagan has also achieved an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations—a radical improvement, we may now say. There is no question that this fact is also helping Bush and that it is a factor he is actively putting to use.

Second, Bush can count on the fact that the U.S. economy will be on the upswing during the runup to the elections. This circumstance will work to his advantage.

The third important circumstance in Bush's favor is that he is not such an extreme right-winger as Reagan. It might seem that this could alienate conservatives and the right wing, but they have no other candidate and nowhere else to go—all right-wing, reactionary, conservative members of the population have only Bush to vote for. Right-wing Republicans and possibly also conservative Democrats are in Bush's pocket, for Dukakis is too liberal for them. This means that Bush is guaranteed the right flank, which is allowing him to move to the center in his political propaganda activity. This is his advantage. If Dukakis must beware of his liberalism, Bush, on the other hand, must prove that although he is no liberal he is also not on the extreme right and that Dukakis is too liberal, to the left of the liberals. It is possible that Dukakis will even be forced to make some bellicose statements. It seems that Dukakis must learn to shriek like a hawk and Bush must learn to coo like a dove.

Bush does have weak points: First of all, he cannot count on the support of those strata of the population that Reagan the populist drew—Reagan's electorate included a considerable proportion of "blue collar workers," workers, and small proprietors. As a graduate of Yale University and a former director of the CIA, Bush will certainly not be able to draw these categories of voters.

Bush's second weak point is that the female section of the electorate does not relate to him well—they relate more to Dukakis.

And, of course, the fact that Reagan has exacerbated social conflict is also not to Bush's advantage.

Candidates for the vice presidency on the Republican side have been noted as Robert Dole, senator from the state of Kansas; his wife Elizabeth, who held the post of transportation secretary for the Reagan administration; and Howard Baker, chief of staff for the President, who left this post after the President's visit to Moscow.

It is quite possible that the Republican candidate for vice president will be the very able politician Howard Baker, who at one time was seen as a contender for president. I have listened to his speeches on television—he is a very experienced, very skillful politician. He also represents the South, for he comes from the state of Tennessee, and thus can attract Southerners and give Bush substantial support. A new candidate has also appeared in the last few days—George Deukmejian, governor of the state of Califonia, who could have a decisive influence on the outcome of the election by bringing Bush a package of votes from this very large state. Also, thanks to his Armenian origin, he could also attract the support of some ethnic minorities.

Contest Between the Dull and the Boring [subhead]

Bush and Dukakis have some weak points in common—they are not very expressive people: The former is simply called dull, and the latter boring. In the United States, it is being said that the presidential campaign is merging into a contest between the dull and the boring.

In this connection, Columbia University Prof Herbert Gans, chairman of the American Association of Sociologists, told me: It is not such a bad thing that Dukakis and Bush do not know how to speak all that well. This is because previous campaigns, he noted, have been propaganda shows, clownings of sorts, where the smarter actor has won. And the contest was not between concepts but rather between personalities. But here, he says, the main role will be played by the platforms. This, of course, gives some advantage to Dukakis inasmuch as his program seems more attractive.

In comparing Bush and Dukakis, Charles Kirbo, a well-known U.S. financier who played a decisive part in J. Carter's 1976 election campaign, said: Bush has a more conservative clientele. He is a self-confident and experienced politician. Dukakis is a smart man, is experienced in state affairs, knows how to get on well with people, and could win in California and the Midwest, which could decide the matter in his favor.

Of course, a lot can happen before November—after the party conventions—and then everything will be decided by the enormous propaganda campaigns on which large amounts of money will be spent.

So Who Will Win? [subhead]

Today public opinion polls favor Dukakis, but Bush has a chance, which has been mentioned above. Bush's most vulnerable spot is his role in "Irangate." In September, a court will begin to investigate the case of Oliver North, which could seriously damage Bush.

Dukakis stresses that he is a good family man: When his wife underwent an operation—she had injured a neck vertebra—he ostentatiously broke off his campaign for the duration. Dukakis' vulnerable spot is the financial difficulties in his state of Massachusetts, which the Republicans are now using in their campaign against him.

On Dukakis' side, the campaign will be conducted under the sign of the protection of the people's prosperity and the reduction of military spending. He has already stated that he will not support SDI, and that speaks in his favor. On the other hand, he will seek to strengthen conventional arms, which could lead to a new increase in military spending.

While opposing the Strategic Defense Initiative and "Star Wars," Dukakis has at the same time made no less bellicose overtures to the Western allies. While taking one step toward more sensible actions, he is also taking another in the opposite direction, to butter up the rightwingers—but such are the morals of American political life.

Trying to find logic in the further unfolding of the election campaign is not that simple. It is clear that the candidates' financial potential could become a decisive factor. In this connection I was told a curious story by Karla Johnston, a Dukakis supporter from Boston, Massachusetts who is actively working in the Democratic Party ranks. In 1986 she applied for nomination as the congressional candidate for the 7th District in Boston, Massachusetts. However, at the height of the primary election, a new contender suddenly appeared—Robert Kennedy's son, who bought a house in this district and began to vigorously spend money on the congressional election. Karla says she immediately stopped her campaign, realizing that she would in any case be unable to spend as much money as a member of the Kennedy clan. Kennedy spent $700,000 and was elected to Congress. Karla Johnston spent $80,000 and is glad she did not go into debt. About $500,000 are usually needed to be elected to Congress. One way or another, money will play no less a role in the fate of the presidency in 1988 than it has in previous years. It is no accident that in political jargon, the election of the president in the United States is called selling—the election results will show who is better able to sell himself to American voters with the aid of television, the press, and election speeches. The price of the election will then also be known.

As for Soviet-U.S. relations, changes after the election will be small. Both Dukakis and Bush, I think, will continue the policy pursued by Reagan. Also, appeals for continuity and the pursuit of a bipartisan policy are appearing increasingly frequently in the U.S. press.

Spread of U.S. Stinger Missiles Viewed

LD2907091588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] AFP has announced that the United States has decided to break off talks with Qatar on military and economic aid. The reason for this step is the portable Stinger missiles which Qatar has illegally acquired. As Deputy Secretary of State Richard Murphy told Congress, the U.S. decision will remain in effect until the Qatari authorities return the Stingers to the United States. I ask my colleague Aleksandr Malikov to comment:

[Malikov] NEWSWEEK magazine once called the U.S. Stinger missile the ideal weapon for terrorists of all shades. Like a deadly bacillus, over the last 2 or 3 years they have spread throughout the countries of the Persian Gulf. Let me remind you that last October, empty containers from those missiles were found on Iranian motorboats, and that this March, a staffer at the U.S.

Embassy in Qatar, while watching a military parade in the Qatari capital on television, literally shot out of his chair when he saw U.S. Stingers on the shoulders of Qatari servicemen. The Pentagon and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency urgently set up an investigation to find out how the Stingers could have turned up in Qatar. The fact is that for the moment, no military aid agreement exists between Qatar and Washington. Such dire measures, however, cannot but be regarded as distracting manuevers, for in general there is nothing to discover here. The channel by which the Stingers have seeped away, as the CBS television network has acknowledged, is in principle obvious. It has been done through the Afghan opposition groupings. It is from them that the missiles came to be in Iran to begin with, and then turned up in Qatar. In actual fact, it is not really all that difficult to trace this path since it is sufficiently well known that last year alone Washington delivered 600 Stinger missiles to members of Afghan opposition groups. Moreover, their flow increased just before and just after this spring's signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. At that time, Washington tried to provide the opposition alliance of the seven with a surfeit of these weapons. However, a considerable number of those missiles did, as became clear, turn up in the hands of the middleman in these dealings—Islamabad.

Pay attention to the fact that the Pentagon representatives did not make a fuss when Pakistan acquired Stingers for itself as a percentage of the deal, so to speak. At the same time, in the case of Qatar and Iran, enraged demarches followed from Washington. It turns out that the ideal weapon for terror has become nothing more than an object of cynical political bargaining. But a trade in weapons as a means of obtaining political dividends, writes the newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, misfires time and again. First, in the opinion of a number of eminent U.S. analysts, the U.S. ability to create a regime that is exclusively to its taste is extremely limited, even if Washington supplies it with weapons. Second, fewer and fewer people are inclined to believe the thesis that more and more weapons make things safer. Finally, in the opinion of Americans themselves, the threat is becoming increasingly real that the target of those same Stingers may not only be, say, a passenger airliner over Kabul, but also U.S. civilian aircraft as well. Such is the boomerang that strikes hard at those who throw it, both in life as well as in politics.

Pakistani Minister Khan Concludes U.S. Visit

LD2907053188 Moscow TASS in English 2308 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports:

Foreign Minister of Pakistan Yaqub Khan has ended his working visit to Washington. Yaqub Khan met and held negotiations with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci and other high-placed representatives of the administration and also congressional leaders. The negotiations mainly touched upon the situation around Afghanistan, a representative of the Department of State reported.

Pakistan is known to be one of the signatories to the Geneva agreements on settlement in Afghanistan, and the United States along with the Soviet Union are guarantors of implementation of these agreements.

All three days of Yaqub Khan's stay in Washington witnessed sharp invigoration of activities of local "public" organisations affiliating those who are in favour not only of continuation but further kindling of the conflict inside and around Afghanistan. Thus, certain Committee for Free Afghanistan and the federation in support of U.S. actions in Afghanistan [as received], financed by the rightwing forces in the United States and beyond, publicly demanded that President Reagan and congressional leaders should continue in full military deliveries to the Afghan armed opposition through Pakistan, which runs counter to the Geneva agreements. The leaders of the "committee" and the "federation", supported by those circles in the administration and Congress which are after frustration of U.S. and Pakistan's compliance with the obligations undertaken in accordance with the agreements on Afghanistan, as is reported in journalists' circles, had unofficial meetings with the Pakistani foreign minister, in the course of which they insisted on such "wishes". But a representative of Pakistan's embassy in Washington told the TASS correspondent that Yaqub Khan did not meet representatives of these organisations. He said that the foreign minister met only with members of the administration and Congress.

On Thursday, at a brief meeting with journalists, upon completion with a talk with George Shultz, Yaqub Khan admitted as unfounded the assertions, earlier circulated by Pakistan, that allegedly the Soviet Union brings fresh units to replace those being withdrawn from Afghanistan.

The representative of Pakistan's embassy said that Yaqub Khan would come to Moscow early in August.

Polish Foreign Minister Visits U.S.

LD2907062888 Moscow TASS in English 0612 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin reports:

An official two-day visit to Washington by Tadeusz Olechowksi, Polish minister of foreign affairs, began on Thursday. He arrived in the U.S. capital at the invitation of the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. This is the first visit to the United States by a Polish foreign minister over the past nine years.

On Thursday Tadeusz Olechowski had talks with the U.S. secretary of state. Matters of bilateral relations and general international problems were discussed during the talks. The question of East-West relations was also touched upon.

Charles Redman, a spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, said the visit and talks with Mr. Shultz were part of a stage-by-stage process of gradual improvement of American-Polish relations. He pointed out that, in the opinion of the two sides, the process was evolving through fine and that the two sides would continue to work on it.

A spokesman for the Polish Embassy in Washington, for his part, told the TASS correspondent that the current talks are a continuation of the already started American-Polish dialogue which is aimed at improving relations. Today Olechowski will continue the talks with George Shultz.

He also met with U.S. Vice President George Bush, Secretary of Commerce William Verity, USIA Director Charles Wick, and visited the U.S. Congress. Today Tadeusz Olechowski leaves Washington for New York and, subsequently, for Warsaw.

Hungary's Grosz Concludes Trip to U.S.

LD2807103188 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 28 TASS—The official working visit to Washington by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP), chairman of Hungary's Council of Ministers, came to a close on Wednesday.

It was the first visit by a general secretary of the HSWP to the United States in the entire history of U.S.-Hungarian relations.

The Hungarian leader held talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Commerce William Verity, Secretary of the Treasury James Baker, met with congressional leaders, and visited the headquarters of the International Monetary Fund, of which Hungary is a member.

On Wednesday he had more than two hours long talks with President Reagan in the White House. A spokesman for the administration said at the close of the talks that the question of the state of affairs and reforms in the Soviet Union, the state of East-West relations, and the situation in Europe had been touched upon during the meeting. Karoly Grosz had highly appreciated the course of the development of Soviet-American relations, and emphasized an important role being played by small and medium-sized European countries, such as Hungary, in international politics.

During the discussion of matters concerning American-Hungarian relations much attention was given to the possibility of expansion of exchanges in the fields of the economy, trade and culture. Karoly Grosz emphasized Hungary's striving to go ahead with economic reforms by using the market mechanism, in the first place, and spoke out in favour of developing cooperation with Western countries and the United States in the field of trade and finance and the sphere of management, and emphasized the importance of removing trade barriers.

The U.S. President, for his part, pointed out a U.S. desire to broaden U.S. export to Hungary, and spoke out in favour of establishing new joint U.S.-Hungarian enterprises.

Relations between Hungary and Romania were also touched upon during the talks.

At a press conference in Washington the Hungarian leader described the results of the talks as outstanding. He specially emphasized that the visit was the product of policies set on course by General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan. The new era of detente, he pointed out, provides not only the superpowers but also the small and medium-sized powers the chance of taking part in the dialogue. We would like to make our contribution to the development of this dialogue. Our talks will promote the establishment of new economic contacts and the conclusion of new economic agreements.

Karoly Grosz leaves Washington for Canada today for a two-day visit during which he will hold talks with the country's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

China

Daily Comments on Changes in PRC-U.S. Ties

PM2507154988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Yevg. Bazhanov: "Turnaround in 'Triangular Diplomacy'? On the Results of G. Shultz' Visit to the PRC"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz recently visited China. Talks were held in which the two sides discussed a broad range of questions. Agreement was achieved on some, while Beijing and Washington still have different views on others. By and large, the visit went as expected, and was not sensational. Nonetheless, the talks were marked, in our opinion, by one noteworthy feature. This time the U.S. representatives' speeches and statements did not voice the thesis, so well worn of late, on the need to "contain" the Soviet Union in the Asia-Pacific region and on "parallel" PRC and U.S. political-strategic interests in Asia's zones of conflict.

The silence on this subject is no coincidence. It reflected the substantial changes which have recently taken place in world politics. Washington's previous strategy of anti-Soviet maneuvering within the framework of the so-called "big triangle" (USSR-United States-PRC) has clearly had its day.

It is now difficult to establish exactly when this concept arose but, indisputably, people began to actively talk about it in the late sixties. Soviet-Chinese relations were exacerbated and the U.S. ruling circles were tempted to take advantage of the situation. The then U.S. Secretary of State H. Kissinger argued as follows: "Through our China policy, we want to show Moscow that... it must consider the possibility of U.S.-Chinese cooperation... Influence over the USSR is, probably, the most important trump card that we derive from our China policy." "I believe," President R. Nixon added, "that the Soviet Union's fear of Communist China may compel it to enter into a coalition, a shotgun wedding with the West."

Of course, the Americans also had other motives—they wanted to extricate themselves with Beijing's help from the Vietnam adventure and restore their shaken prestige in the Asia-Pacific region. Later, appetites hankered after the potentially vast Chinese markets. But all this played a secondary role when in 1971 the White House adopted the decision to enter into rapprochement with the PRC after 2 decades of a policy of nonrecognition and containment of People's China. The main intentions were, undoubtedly, aimed at perpetuating the division between the USSR and the PRC, and exploiting it for ideological, political, and strategic ends.

Washington persistently endeavored to transform China into a "center of force" isolated from the Soviet Union and friendly to the United States. White House strategists paid increased attention to ensuring that the interconnections in the "big triangle" remained asymmetric and that the United States had better relations with the USSR and the PRC than they did with each other.

At first Washington was able to feel definite delight. It managed to extricate itself from the Vietnam quagmire—although not without damaging U.S. great-power ambitions. The confrontation with China in Asia began to die down and detente in Soviet-U.S. relations got off to a successful start.

However, "triangular diplomacy" only paid off for the White House as long as it envisaged developing dialogue with both the PRC and the Soviet Union. In the second half of the seventies, marked changes took place in U.S. strategy. These changes, moreover, were by no means for the better. Washington set course for disrupting detente and actively opposing the USSR. The role of the China factor changed correspondingly—it was now a question of China's exerting direct military pressure on the Soviet Union. Z. Brzezinski, the adviser of President J. Carter, called for the "China card to be played against Moscow."

Beijing then responded to its overseas partner's overtures. It put forward a counterproposal for forming a "united front" against the USSR effectively composed of all the world's states.

Did this policy bear fruit? Studying the problem in retrospect, one can definitely say: No, it did not. Instead, the situation in the world was exacerbated and the arms races escalated even further. U.S. security by no means became more stable than before.

China did not gain anything either. After 1978 the Chinese leadership decided to concentrate the country's efforts on questions of modernization and the maximum development of productive forces. The appropriate external conditions were necessary to resolve the internal problems, including damping down contentious issues with other countries and ensuring a calm atmosphere around China. Modernization also gave rise to the need to diversify foreign economic ties and to seek new partners. The previous foreign policy line stood in the way of this. Moreover, with R. Reagan's accession to power in the White House, Washington behaved in an increasingly provocative manner, attempting to treat the PRC like a subordinate "junior" partner. People in U.S. political circles thought as follows: China "needs" U.S. protection to repulse an "external threat," and that is why it has to suffer everything.

But the Washington strategists miscalculated. At the 12th CPC Congress (1982), China proclaimed that it conducts an independent, autonomous foreign policy, does not join any big power or group of states, would not enter into an alliance with them, and does not bow to the pressure of any big power. The congress decided that the PRC should establish normal relations with all countries, including the USSR and the United States, based on the principles of mutual coexistence. It was stressed that China—which is engaged in socialist building—is objectively interested in disarmament and reducing tension, and that it believes that peace can be preserved and universal conflict prevented.

The congress' directives opened the way to the implementation of a new political line, one that was gradually consolidated. China proceeded toward a balance in relations with the two great powers—the Soviet Union and the United States—after a struggle of opinions, agonizingly overcoming stereotypes and settling conflicts with difficulty. In the last 2 years, this movement has accelerated, and this is clearly not unconnected with the influence of restructuring in Soviet foreign and domestic policy. Complete balance, however, still has not been achieved. When regular contacts are organized between PRC and U.S. leaders, the Chinese side then rejects summit meetings with the USSR, and so on. Nevertheless, evolution—considerable evolution—is evident in China's positions. As if to sum up the results of this evolution, the prominent Chinese political specialist

Huan Xiang stated in an interview with a U.S. newspaper: "The period when the United States and the PRC were united in confrontation against the Soviet Union is past, and U.S.-USSR-Chinese relations have entered a new phase."

How did people on the banks of the Potomac react to the change in Chinese policy? At first they tried to overtly pressure Beijing; they cajoled and exhorted it to continue joint actions against the USSR. Upon being rebuffed, they began to act more subtly: They made promises of weapons, announced via the press the siting on Chinese territory of stations for tracking Soviet defense efforts, literally invented sensations about "joint maneuvers" involving PRC and U.S. naval forces, and proposed "securing" China more firmly to the West by using economic levers.

But time has passed, and it has become increasingly obvious that the PRC, guided by its own national interests, intends to continue the course of normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations. The White House no longer dares to be openly vituperative about this, especially since in the changed conditions it has become simply inappropriate to act in that way. This is because changes have also taken place in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Nonetheless, there has been no let-up in the U.S. capital. In one of his January speeches, President R. Reagan could not refrain from giving Chinese leaders the following piece of advice: In relations with the USSR you must, he said, act on the principle of "trust but verify." He produced a list: The Soviet Union maintains troops against China, and concessions must be demanded from the USSR on a number of Asian problems. People in Washington took particular pains in their attempts to fuel Sino-Soviet disagreements on the problems of Cambodia and Afghanistan. Pentagon circles were also seen to be nervy. They announced, in particular, their plans to once again put the PRC on the list of countries "hostile" to the United States (there are more than 30 countries on this list, including the USSR).

U.S. attacks on China have become more frequent for various reasons. Thus, U.S. congressmen opposed family planning in China, adopted resolutions in support of Tibetan separatists, and began to accuse the Chinese authorities of violating "human rights" and to distort the PRC's policy in the Persian Gulf zone. In 1987, Washington imposed additional restrictions on supplying technology to the Chinese market. All this gave LIAO-WANG, a journal published in Beijing, grounds for condemning the United States for its "gross interference" in China's internal affairs and for "political blackmail."

In general, outmoded political thinking whose essence could be reduced to a single easy postulate—the worse things are between the USSR and China, the better for the United States—until recently clearly prevailed in the U.S. approach. And vice versa.

In the current era, one must reason using different criteria. This is because it is obvious that the more stable Soviet-Chinese relations are, the calmer the atmosphere is in Asia, and that the brighter the prospects become for disarmament and for untangling knots of conflict. These are precisely the yardsticks which are suitable for PRC-U.S. relations. If they deteriorate, then stability in the Asia-Pacific region will be destroyed. The vile practice of building new military bases, upgrading armaments, struggling for influence in the countries of Asian-Pacific region, and the like is renewed. That is why the cause of peace and international security gain from normality in Sino-U.S. relations, provided they do not damage others' interests. The economic interest which China and the United States have in one another is also natural.

In other words, peace, contacts, and cooperation within the framework of the "big triangle" are of universal benefit. G. Shultz' recent visit to the PRC is reassuring in this respect: People in Washington are seemingly coming to realize the futility of attempts to play the "China card."

Legislation Commission Delegation Concludes Visit

LD2907052788 Moscow TASS in English 2213 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Leningrad July 28 TASS—A delegation of the Legislation Commission of the National People's Congress has ended its tour of the USSR by a trip to Leningrad. The delegation stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the commissions of legislative proposals of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet the guests were told about the city, a major economic, scientific and cultural centre of the country, and how the Leningraders are implementing decisions of the 19th CPSU Conference, about the process of perestroyka.

The parliamentarians visited Smolny, went to the Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery, the cruiser Aurora.

Talking to a TASS correspondent, the head of the delegation Song Rufen said that the development of friendship between China and the Soviet Union was both sides' wish. He said that Soviet perestroyka was in tune with the course of reforms in China. Mutual experience can help resolve faster the problems facing the peoples of the two countries.

Chinese Journalists Attend Embassy Meeting

LD2807170288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 28 Jul 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The Chinese public is becoming increasingly interested in events taking place in our country. [passage omitted] The large group of Chinese journalists attending a meeting at the Soviet Embassy devoted to the 19th

party conference evinces great interest in this event. In their questions, my Chinese colleagues compared the problems that were discussed in Moscow with the issues that occupy the thoughts of Chinese society, which has embarked on the road of cardinal reform in economic and political life. Of course, the conditions under which Soviet restructuring and Chinese reform are being carried out are different, and it would hardly be reasonable to imitate each other's experience, Troyanovskiy, Soviet ambassador to China, said in reply to the journalists' questions. The problems facing both China and our country, however, are similar in many respects, and this creates an important sphere of mutual interest, which undoubtedly will have a positive effect on the further development of relations between our states. [video shows Chinese newspapers and books about the USSR; Troyanovskiy speaking]

Joint Venture Registered in Soviet Far East

LD2807140888 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] The first Soviet-Chinese venture has been registered in the Soviet Far East. The joint venture is an Eastern kitchen-restaurant in the city of Khabarovsk. Fifty-one percent of the stock is held by the Soviet side.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia's Hun Sen Discusses Bogor Meeting

LD2807192988 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Jakarta July 28 TASS—By TASS correspondents Aleksey Petrov and Boris Krivoshein: Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, said today that the "informal meeting", which ended in Bogor, had been a "step forward" in the process of political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. It was for the first time that the issue of withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops was linked with preventing the restoration of the Pol Pot genocide regime, he told the press conference held in Bogor today after after the closing of the "informal meeting."

Yet the leadership of the "Khmer Rouge" group, Hun Sen said, has rejected all the proposals on a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem along the lines agreed upon between the three Kampuchean sides, including the proposal tabled by the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on setting up a national reconciliation council to be headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, which was accepted by the latter.

It became obvious during the days of the Bogor meeting, Hun Sen stressed, that the leaders of the "Khmer Rouge" do not wish to assist towards national reconciliation in Kampuchea.

Disarmament of the armed elements of "Khmer Rouge", Hun Sen noted, is the sine qua non for preventing the restoration of the Pol Pot genocide regime. We are not against a political participation of the "Khmer Rouge" group in a Kampuchean settlement, yet we are against the preservation of the Pol Pot military organisation as a tool for capturing power, the chairman of the Kampuchean Council of Ministers said. The Pol Pot men are engaged in a subversive war in Kampuchea, Hun Sen stressed. To put an end to that war it is necessary that an end is put to the foreign aid rendered to the armed elements of the "Khmer Rouge". Yet the "Khmer Rouge" leaders have turned down the proposal on ending foreign aid to the Khmer opposition groups, Hun Sen said.

Rassadin Views Bogor Meeting on Cambodia

LD2807222188 Moscow World Service in English 1710 Gmt 28 Jul 88

[Excerpts] On Thursday, 28 July, an informal meeting on Kampuchea ended in Bogor, Indonesia. It was attended by a delegation of the Kampuchean Government, three opposition Khmer groupings, Vietnam, Laos, and six ASEAN countries. Here is Leonid Rassadin's comment on the meeting:

[Passage omitted] An abnormal situation has emerged around liberated Kampuchea, a situation that negatively affects stability in Southeast Asia as a whole. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alates has described the meeting in Bogor as a political and psychological breakthrough. The meeting that brought together a Kampuchean Government delegation and the principal Khmer groupings (?has) been able to pass some concrete decisions. One of them is to set up a working group adequately representing all the sides to study specific aspects of a political settlement for Kampuchea. The group is to finish its work by next December and produce recommendations for another similar meeting.

Khmer Rouge leaders found themselves in total isolation in Bogor. They rejected even Kampuchea's initiative on setting up a national reconciliation council headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who accepted the function.

Evaluating the results of the Bogor meeting, the Kampuchean Prime Minister Hun Sen noted that for the first time the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops was linked with a ban on restoring Pol Pot's genocide regime. He stressed that the meeting was a step towards a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Cambodia's Heng Samrin Arrives on 'Holiday'

LD2807192088 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, chairman of the

State Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has arrived in the Soviet Union on holiday today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Cambodian Party Delegation Completes Visit

PM2607141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Under the plan for interparty ties, a delegation of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Economic Department headed by Nut Thon, the department's deputy chief, visited the Soviet Union 14-25 July.

The delegation had talks at the Economic Department and at the Department of the CPSU Central Committee [Ekonomicheskiy otdel i Otdel TsK], at the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, and at the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute. The Cambodian comrades visited Moscow Oblast and Stavropol Kray, where they were familiarized with the activities of the party organizations of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes in directing restructuring and in implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

OANA Assembly Meets in Jakarta

LD2807213888 Moscow TASS in English 1959 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Jakarta July 28 TASS—TASS special correspondent Aleksey Petrov, Geli Skobelev, and Georgiy Shmelev report:

A general debate on the general secretary's report and also some problems pertaining to the OANA's activities in the present-day conditions was held at today's plenary meeting of the seventh General Assembly of the Organization of Asian and Pacific News Agencies.

The delegates concretely discussed professional tasks facing news services of the Asia-Pacific region in the exchange of information and photoservices, establishment of a single economic information pool, development of technical facilities of the OANA news agencies, and also establishment of contacts and cooperation with other regional news associations.

Concern for safeguarding peace and mutual understanding in the world, and in the Asia-Pacific region, specifically, found reflection in the delegates' speeches.

Delegates of the general assembly expressed profound concern over the continuing sway of transnational information monopolies in the world information market. The delegate of the Iranian news agency IRNA said that "Third World" countries were still unable to oppose a stream of reports, frequently distorting reality, which comes from these monopolies. As an example, he pointed to the Western mass media's coverage of tragic events in the Persian Gulf when an Iranian civil airliner was brought down by American missiles.

The participants in the assembly endorsed the revised rules of the organisation elected the OANA's new steering bodies. General Dir[illegible]or of the Indonesian national news agency ANTARA, Hanjoyo Nitimiharjo, was elected president. The OANA Executive Committee also includes representatives of the PTI (India), KYODO TSUSHIN (Japan), APP (Pakistan), TASS (USSR), VNA (Vietnam), XINHUA (China), BERNAMA (Malaysia), IRNA (Iran).

Decision has been taken to broaden the OANA technical committee by including representatives of the MONTSAME (Mongolia) and LANKAPUWATH (Sri Lanka).

It has been decided to hold the next general assembly in Tokyo in 1991.

Near East & South Asia

Israeli Diplomats Arrive in Moscow 28 Jul

LD2807181788 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—Several Israeli diplomats arrived in Moscow today.

A representative of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR has reported that the Soviet Union at the request of the Israeli side has given consent for several Israeli diplomats to come to Moscow to get acquainted with activities of the Netherlands Embassy's Israeli Interests Section. The Israeli side reaffirmed agreement with these limited, technical conditions of the trip.

The representative of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR underlined that "the Soviet well-known approach to settlement of the question of relations between the USSR and Israel remains unchanged, and the given trip is unrelated to it".

As to the question of restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel, the Soviet side has repeatedly noted that changes in that sphere are possible only in the Middle East settlement channel.

Soviets 'Play Down' Visit

TA2807183488 Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] The Israeli consular delegation arrived in Moscow this evening. This is the first time since the 6-Day War that Israeli diplomats have visited the Soviet Union. Meron Gordon, the head of the delegation, stated in Moscow: We are here, at long last. We hope our mission

to Moscow is the first step in the process of improving relations between Israel and the Soviet Union. Mr Gordon went on to say: We come here with the most friendly intentions.

The head of the Israeli consular delegation was speaking to journalists at Moscow Airport. The delegation arrived on a regular commercial flight from Amsterdam. Mr Gordon was asked about his feelings toward the Soviet Union, the country he left some 30 years ago. He replied: I think people talk about having butterflies in their stomach; the butterflies in my stomach are very noisy.

Earlier, the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry said the arrival of the Israeli delegation is in no way connected to diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel.

Sources in the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem today told our political correspondent Yig'al Goren that the Soviet spokesman's statement is not surprising since the Soviet Union has gone to very great lengths to play down the visit of the Israeli diplomatic delegation. This is also the reason why the Soviet Union did not grant visas to journalists holding Israeli passports who wanted to cover the delegation's activities

Vorontsov Receives Iranian Ambassador 28 Jul

LD2907082888 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—On July 28, Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR Naser Heirani-Nobari at the latter's request. The ambassador arrived from Tehran on the same day.

They discussed in detail questions pertaining to putting an end to the Iran-Iraq war and the current state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-Iranian relations.

Further Reportage on Visit by Egypt's Ghali

Meets With Vorontsov

LD2807194188 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—Today there was a meeting between Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and Butrus Ghali, Egyptian state minister for foreign affairs and board chairman of the Soviet-Egyptian Friendship Society. The sides discussed questions pertaining to Soviet-Egyptian relations, prospects for a peaceful settlement between Iran and Iraq, the situation in the Middle East and around Afghanistan and some other issues.

The meeting was held in a constructive and businesslike atmosphere.

Urges 'Constructive Dialogue'

LD2807222988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt and president of the USSR-Egypt Friendship Society, is paying a visit to our country. Speaking at a meeting to mark the 36th anniversary of the July revolution, he said, in part:

[Begin Ghali recording in Arabic with superimposed Russian translation] Relations between our countries have undergone many trials. There have been times when our views and positions coincided, but contradictions and disagreements have also arisen. Nevertheless, the principle of mutual respect which guided us permitted mutual understanding to prevail. We consider that in the new type of international relations, such a principle is a determining factor. Over the past few months, there has been an intensive exchange at various levels and spheres of political and cultural ties. This is an index of the positive and constructive direction in the development of bilateral relations.

Our countries are exerting efforts in the struggle against any manifestations of colonialism, and in support of liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and other regions. Egypt and the Soviet Union advocate disarmament, the removal of the danger of a thermonuclear war, and the elimination of foreign military bases on the territory of others. We consider that peaceful coexistence and cooperation between peoples should assist life and progress on earth and help to disclose man's creative energy. Mankind is faced by many problems today, including the protection of the environment, the struggle with drought, and the problem of energy resources. We are also observing a widening of the abyss between the developed countries and the countries of the Third World.

These problems can be resolved only by concrete, constructive dialogue, uniting all efforts. The victory of peace and progress on the firm basis of justice, freedom, and democracy—such is the chief goal of the people of our ancient country. And we profoundly believe that cooperation between our countries will serve to attain these lofty goals. [end recording]

Meets With Dobrynin

PM2907094088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] On 27 July A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with B. Ghali, member of the General Secretariat of the National Democratic Party, minister of state for foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and chairman of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society board.

In the course of the meeting, which took place in a businesslike, friendly atmosphere, both sides gave a positive assessment of the state of relations between the USSR and Egypt and prospects for their development. The desire of the CPSU and the National Democratic Party to pursue a line of deepening equal, mutually advantageous Soviet-Egyptian cooperation in various spheres was reaffirmed.

A thorough exchange of opinions on topical questions of the international situation showed that favorable preconditions exist for constructive collaboration between the Soviet Union and Egypt in the interests of the strengthening of peace, the development of the nuclear disarmament process, and a political settlement of the Near Eastern and other regional conflicts.

Taking part in the talk were V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and K.N. Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

S.H. Basyuni, Egyptian ambassador to the USSR, was present at the meeting.

Signs Friendship Protocol

JN2807165688 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 27 Jul 88 p 7

[By Ni'am al-Baz from Moscow]

[Text] A protocol was signed between the friendship societies of Egypt and the Soviet Union yesterday. The protocol was signed in Moscow by Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs and chairman of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society, and Vladimir Vinogradov, foreign minister of the RSFSR and chairman of the USSR-Egyptian Friendship Society.

The protocol stipulates exchanges of intellectuals and student delegations between the two countries and an exchange of academic scholarships for holders of masters degrees apart from scholarships granted by the Ministries of Culture and Higher Education. The protocol stipulates the organization of functions, seminars, and art exhibitions between the two countries. It stipulates the exchange of feature and documentary films, as well as newspapers, between the two countries. The protocol will last for 2 years.

Butrus Ghali said that the policy of nonalignment is the primary pillar of Egypt's move through the societies of friendship with the Soviet Union and other world states. He said this protocol will serve as a basis for extended and fruitful relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union.

The Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society delegation yesterday met with Valentina Tereshkova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. During the meeting, Tereshkova affirmed that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to the resumption of Egyptian-Soviet relations. She expressed thanks and appreciation for President Husni Mubarak's efforts in this regard. She also praised the role of Egyptian Ambassador Salah Basyuni.

An exhibition of eclectic arts for Egyptian artists was opened yesterday. It includes works of Lanji Aflatun, Sayyid Sa'd al-Din, Hamid Nada, Fatimah al'Arariji, 'Abd al-Fattah al-Badri, and Mustafa al-Razzaz. The exhibition is being held at the largest hall at the Friendship Palace in Moscow and will move to the rest of the Soviet republics.

A party was held at the Friendship Palace yesterday evening by Samir Sabri and his band and was attended by a large audience. A number of popular operas was presented. Another party will be held tonight, and will be followed by a poetry seminar, in which poetry of Salah Jahin, Salah 'Abd al-Sabur, and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sharqawi will be recited, accompanied by a Russian translation.

Najibullah Meets Opponents on Religious Holiday

PM2807115588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 First Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Afghanistan: Appeal to Reason Gets a Response"]

[Text] Kabul, 27 Jul—The policy of national reconciliation has enabled many members of the opposition who have not seen their home city for a number of years to once again celebrate the Muslim feast of 'Id al-Adha within the family circle in Kabul. President Najibullah of Afghanistan received 342 members of antigovernment groupings operating in districts of Kabul Province.

He congratulated those present and, through them, all who have not yet abandoned the armed struggle against people's power, on the religious festival. The very possibility of holding this meeting, the president pointed out, has arisen thanks to an initiative by the clergy, who urged the country's leadership to allow its opponents to visit provincial centers during the festival. Advocating reconciliation among the Afghans, the leadership responded positively to that appeal.

Najibullah dwelt on the history of Kabul, which is the Afghan state's traditional center. Despite all the difficulties and even tragedies being experienced by the city, it will forever remain the country's capital.

However, it is now possible to see Sarandoy combat vehicles in the city streets and aircraft and helicopters in the skies over the capital, Najibullah continued. Servicemen of the armed forces are defending Kabul, for in recent months alone shelling has killed 143 city dwellers, injured 210, and destroyed dozens of buildings.

The people's power, Najibullah went on to say, is making efforts to eliminate the excesses that occurred earlier. In particular, national enterprise is being encouraged, and the mistakes made when implementing the land reform are being eliminated. The implementation of the reconciliation program has led to the establishment of contacts between the authorities and opposition groupings operating within the country and to the return home of more than 150,000 Afghan refugees. But we rightly consider the chief achievement of the national reconciliation policy, Najibullah emphasized, to be the Geneva agreements signed by Afghanistan, Pakistan, the USSR, and the United States. These agreements leading to peace and stability in Afghanistan and the region have been welcomed by the world's peoples. However, their fulfillment, which must be the guarantee of the restoration of peace, has encountered serious obstacles. We have a great deal of irrefutable evidence that the agreements are being violated by reactionary circles in Pakistan and the United States. At the same time President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan accuses the USSR and Afghanistan of failing to observe the Soviet troop withdrawal schedule! The Pakistani president's statements do not tally with reality, as UN observers and foreign journalists can see for themselves. Their chief purpose is to deceive international public opinion, Najibullah pointed out.

Gives TV Address

LD2407004688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul, 23 Jul (TASS)—President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah today addressed the Afghan people on television on the occasion of the Muslim religious holiday 'Id al-Adha. He called for an end to the bloodshed and fratricide, and for efforts to establish a durable peace on Afghan soil. Bloodshed has continued on Afghan soil for 10 years now, he said. Who is to blame for the fact that the war, far from subsiding, flares up? The government, the president stressed, declared and extended on many occasions unilateral cease-fire, while armed opposition has increased two- and threefold the number of subversive actions over a short of period of time. "We signed the Geneva accords with great satisfaction, but the enemy categorically rejected them. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has started now, and the last pretext for continuing the war has disappeared. If the opposing side continues to wage it, the extremists will bear an indelible guilt for the death of innocent people."

"We proposed to all our rivals to come to Kabul and provincial centers during the festival to meet with relatives and friends. The rebels stepped up the shelling of cities in response to this humane step. It became obvious that those to whom we appeal with the words of peace want the continuation of war."

Dwelling on the issue of religions in the Republic of Afghanistan, the president said that over the past 10 years the state had allocated funds to build nearly 2,000 new mosques, while extremists destroyed 389 mosques. The government assisted over that period in training 600 theologians while the rivals of peace killed 1,154 religious figures. On the initiative of people's government the Society of Islamic Studies was set up, while rebels set on fire five religious schools.

Speaking about the realisation of the policy of national reconciliation, the Afghan leader cited as its main achievements the holding of Loya Jirgah, endorsement of the constitution, election of the National Council, which already started its work, and the strengthening of a multiparty political system.

At present, Najibullah noted, implementation of the Geneva accords is in the focus of attention. Afghanistan and the USSR honestly and precisely fulfill their obligations. However, Pakistan, which also signed the agreements, flagrantly violates this international document. One can even say that, contrary to Geneva, Pakistani authorities far from stopping interference in the affairs of Afghanistan step it up with every passing day, contributing to the escalation of bloody war.

It is clear today that responsibility for the restoration of peace rests with all Afghan patriots and not the government alone. The struggle for peace, against extremists' grisly terror must become the concern of everyone, Najibullah stressed.

Opposition's Crimes Noted

LD2807182788 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—News analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

'Id al-Adha, the feast of the sacrifice, is sacred for all Muslims. These days Muslims pray to the Allah for peace and concord. Pilgrims from all Islamic countries gathered in Mecca and call for an end to all strife. The Kabul government, too, called for peace and concord, for an end to fratricidal bloodshed. The holiday days were proclaimed the days of peace, reconciliation and armistice. These days all faithful Afghans, even those who have been fighting against the Kabul authorities in units of armed opposition, were given an opportunity to come unarmed to their cities and villages, to visit their families and celebrate the holiday together with them, to pray in the mosques in their home places.

Many Afghans heeded the call of the Kabul government. Leaving their arms with their units, they visited cities, came to the capital. President of Afghanistan Najibullah took part in a common prayer and later met with 342 commandos from anti-government troops. He urged them again to stop fighting. He said that he sees the road to peace on Afghan soil in the policy of national reconciliation which makes it possible to pool the efforts of all patriotic forces of the country. He expressed again the

readiness to immediately open a dialogue with the opposition about forming a new coalition government on the broadest of bases. "We are prepared to give the opposition a large number of posts in the state apparatus. Just end the fire, do not shell cities, do not spill the blood of innocent people", he declared.

But there exist such "fighters for the sacred cause of Islam" from among units of the armed opposition who, contrary to the Koran, contrary to reason, show no respect even for the atmosphere of the Islamic holiday. What is more, the "followers of Islam" intensified actions of terror and subversion during the holiday. And leadar of "Peshawar Seven" Hekmatyar made an outright threat to intensify the shelling of Kabul with "ground-to-ground" missiles in the days of the Islamic holiday. Missiles were rained on Kabul, Qandahar, Jalalabad, Uruzgan, Laghman, Nangarhar, Kapesa, Helmand and other cities were shelled with rockets. dozens of people, among them children and women were killed. Houses and schools were destroyed. The commandos also targeted mosques to hit Muslims praying there.

For what purpose is this done? Are these actions in keeping with the Koran? In the years of the fratricidal war, opposition forces killed 1,154 clergymen. Commandos destroyed 389 mosques. And all this has been done under the flag of the "struggle against communist enemies of Islam". It will not be amiss to recall that over this period the Kabul government allocated funds for the construction of nearly 2,000 mosques, helped train 600 theologians, set up a university for the study of Islamic sciences, formed a consultative Islamic council under the president. In other words, the Kabul government is doing everything so that religion should hold a worthy place in the overall process of the country's development.

The crimes of mujahidins thus cannot be justified by the "struggle for Islam." This is only an attempt of the adversaries of the present Kabul regime to take advantage of religious beliefs of Afghans they deceived in their own self-seeking interests—in the interests of the struggle for power which the leaders of "irreconcilable opposition" are eager to achieve, showing no care for the cost in human lives.

Holiday Situation Reviewed

LD2807183988 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 28 TASS—The call of the Afghan Government for armistice between Afghans in the days of the Islamic religious holiday 'Id al-Adha was met with support of part of the armed opposition in various areas of the country. Thus members of some units still fighting against state power took part in holiday prayer in Balkh and Konduz Provinces. For this purpose they stopped combat operations the day before the holiday. In Sar-e Pol Province, 300 members of the opposition spent the holiday with their families and relatives. The local governmental bodies ensured for them safe passage.

Several days earlier, President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah sent a message to the people of Zabul Province, expressing gratitude to them for courage in protecting territorial integrity of the country. In the reply message, party functionaries and officials of government bodies, servicemen of the Afghan Army thanked the leader of the country for warm words and expressed their readiness to continue to give every effort to the struggle for the country.

Measures taken by the Afghan Government to ensure that their compatriots could return safely from abroad evoke warm response of Afghan refugees. Despite obstacles put by the Pakistani authorities and extremists, 73 repatriates returned in the past day to the provinces of Kabul, Laghman, Vardak, the BAKHTAR news agency reported. Nearly 6,000 people returned to Qandahar Province for the past three months, while 2,600 people returned to Helmand Province.

Meanwhile Pakistan continues escalating its interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Afghanistan. The Islamabad regime tries to camouflage its supply of arms to the Afghan opposition. Thus, 20 trucks with weapons covered with sacks of flour were recently sent from Peshawar to Miramshah, Pakistan.

A unit of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan numbering 55 men and armed with anti-aircraft complexes arrived from Pakistan in the area of Kabul.

A caravan of 60 pack animals brought weapons and ammunition into Alishang District of Laghman Province for gangs of the movement for Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan numbering 580 men. Shermahmahd's [name as received] unit in Nuristan District including some 700 men was armed with Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. A caravan with arms also arrived in Sharikar District of Parvan Province.

Terrorists are being supplied with means for staging terroristic acts. Thus a large consignment of time mines camouflaged as household utensils was delivered into Teri Mangal District of Pakistan in the last decade of July. These time mines are, in all probability, already being delivered to Afghanistan for terrorist groups operating in Kabul.

The BAKHTAR news agency reported that security services of the Afghan capital prevented an attempt of an act of terrorism. An extremist carried a mine having the form of a vacuum flask into one of the densely populated quarters of Kabul.

In the past day the extremists fired 18 rockets at Jalalabad, killing seven people and wounding six. Two women and three children were killed. 18 shellings and raids

were made on the populated localities in Kabul, Bamian, Ghazni, Herat, Qandahar and Laghman Provinces in the past few days. There are killed and wounded among the population.

Armed units of the movement for Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan intensified acts of terrorism in Samangan Province. The group is mining pipe lines, is staging robberies on roads.

In mid-July, commanders of armed groups of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and Hezbollah operating in Kang and Chahansur [name as received] Districts of Nimroz Province held a conference at which they decided to attack district centres after the feast of the sacrifice, and also to attack units of government forces and security posts of the district.

According to a report of the Afghan News Agency, government troops conducted a number of operations in Lowgar Province. Some 80 extremists, among them several leaders (Gholam Rasul, Moallem Tur, Ghulab Shah) were killed or wounded during the hostilities. The BAKHTAR news agency notes that three Arab military advisers are among the killed. There are reports that a group of military specialists from Saudi Arabia arrived in Quetta, Pakistan. They are to select up to 3,000 persons from among Afghan refugees and members of the opposition groups so that they could be taken to Saudi Arabia to be trained in methods of subversive activity.

Armed clashes between members of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Movement for Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan continue in Ru'i Duab District. Thus a unit headed by Hakimbay (Movement of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan) numbering some 60 people was sent for the struggle against units of leaders Ubaidulla and Atif from the Islamic Party of Afghanistan that number some 90 mudjahadins. There were bloody clashes between two untis of the opposition forces in Bagrami District of Parwan Province in which seven men were killed and ten wounded.

Troops 'Control' Jalalabad

PM2807131188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 p 3

[APN correspondent M. Yevstafyev dispatch: "Jalalabad Is Not Surrendering"]

[Text] Jalalabad-Kabul—The 2 months since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Jalalabad—a strategically important city in eastern Afghanistan—have kept both military men and politicians in a state of tension. Reports from Western radio voices have been full of statements from the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" about the city's inevitable fall straight after the Soviet troop withdrawal. Specific timetables were even mentioned. I saw the situation in Jalalabad with my own eyes during a trip to Nangarhar.

The first Soviet units left Jalalabad 15 May, and since then responsibility for protecting the "East" zone—covering the provinces of Nangarhar, Konarha, and Laghman—has lain with units of the Afghan Armed Forces, I was told by Lieutenant General Muhammad Asef Delawar. "I want to stress that government troops are in control of the situation in the province. Despite rumors that the city is cut off and the roads blocked, you were able to see for yourself that truckloads of goods are getting through to Jalalabad and going to Kabul and back. The road to Asadabad is also open. Undoubtedly the population has been scared by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's statements that Jalalabad will sooner or later fall into the hands of the 'mujahidin' ('fighters for the faith'). But hitherto the armed opposition has not once really threatened the city. Life and commerce in Jalalabad are continuing normally—in short, nothing has changed in the last 2 months. Our government is doing everything to ensure the speediest implementation of the Geneva accords. But we are worried about the position of Pakistan, which continues to aid armed opposition detachments—by supplying weapons and munitions across the Afghan border, for instance. You get the impression that the Pakistani leadership is not interested in establishing peace in Afghanistan."

The conversation was continued by Colonel Habib, chief of the corps' political department:

"All the posts, garrisons, and military townships handed over to us by our Soviet friends are currently held by various units of the province's armed forces," he said.

In the last 3 weeks the insurgents have somewhat stepped up their shelling of certain posts. The enemy is trying to seize security posts around Jalalabad and get closer to the city, but they will not succeed.

Dissension among the armed opposition groupings has sharply intensified. While one gang is trying to attack Jalalabad, others are opposing them.

"There are now no Soviet troops in Jalalabad. So why shell the city, its peaceful inhabitants, and our own countrymen?" they ask. Contradictions are constantly intensifying over zones of influence, and there have been major clashes between the insurgents themselves. The morale of the "fighters for faith" is noticeably falling. More and more members of the armed opposition are trying to go over to the government side. They are refraining from hostilities increasingly often, in the belief that, following the Soviet troop withdrawal from the province, there is no need to continue the bloodshed. Cases of people refusing to obey commanders' orders have become more common. The insurgents are leaving the bodies of the dead and wounded on the battlefield and abandoning their weapons. This never happened before.

"According to our figures," Col Habib continued, "Yunis Khalis, leader of the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan,' has personally visited certain districts in Nangarhar Province in an attempt to smooth over some of the contradictions between detachment commanders, achieve temporary unity, and continue coordinated hostilities. But the trip was not a success. The Afghan people are tired of the many years of war. They sensed that peace in the country is close at hand. It is not surprising that Yunis Khalis encountered a wall of mistrust and dissatisfaction. This could not have been foreseen even a few months ago. But, as we can see, the people's mood is changing."

I think it would not be wrong to say that the Afghan people are increasingly convinced that the national reconciliation policy is in its interests. In the past it was difficult for many people to know who were their true friends and who were their enemies. There was a great deal of suffering and maimed lives, but now the truth is obvious.

Konduz Governor on Improvements

LD2807151688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 28 Jul 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Oleg Blinov]

[Text] The process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan is proceeding. Our correspondent in that country, Aleksandr Shkirando, recently visited the northern province of Konduz. This is his report on the situation there:

[Shkirando] To be honest, before I left for Konduz I did not think that the situation there was completely normal. After all, the capital of Afghanistan itself had recently been the target of terrorist and sabotage acts by the extremists. Nevertheless, while staying in Konduz not once did I hear the drawn out whistle of rocket shells or of shelling at all. The homonymous administrative center of the province is living its normal life. Small factories and workshops are operating. There is lively trading on the streets.

I must say right now that a couple of months back it was not without danger for us Soviet correspondents to walk around Konduz; indeed the townspeople themselves were living in fear, expecting the latest attack from the extremists. But after the appointment as governor of the province of 'Abdul Hakim Salah, the position gradually started to get back to normal. The new governor is a nonparty man, a lawyer by training. He actively set about implementing the policy of national reconciliation. And the results are plain to see. During our meeting, 'Abdul Hakim Salah, assessing the situation in Konduz Province, said:

[Begin Salah recording in vernacular fading into Russian translation] The position in our province, compared with other parts of the country, is good. And here the adoption of the new constitution which gives citizens more rights and liberties, and also the election of the National Council, have had a positive affect on the population. At the same time, it cannot be said that there is no opposition in the province; there is, and it is active. For example, the armed groups of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan have over 2,000 people. There are numerous gangs of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, in whose ranks there are at least 2,500 people. However, there has been a drop recently in the activity of these gangs and formations in our province. There is a feeling that sections of the opposition, weary of bloodshed, intend to go for peace talks. Previously such a step was considered virtually impossible. Now, thanks to the coalition form of rule, favorable ground has been prepared for reaching mutual understanding with the opposing side. As for our province, there are now many representatives of various political parties and organizations taking part in its governance. It is more difficult to find a common language with the hardline section of the opposition. Nevertheless, we are trying to find a reasonable compromise. [end recording]

Afghans, Soviets Said Following Geneva Accords

LD2607093188 Moscow TASS in English 0727 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—"Starting from May 15, 1988, when the Geneva accords went into effect, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have been scrupulously fulfilling their commitments flowing from these agreements," the Soviet journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN (INTERNATIONAL LIFE) writes in its latest issue.

Afghanistan, the journal points out, has undertaken the necessary measures to ensure the return of refugees to Afghanistan: laws granting political, social and economic rights to them have been passed and considerable financial and material resources have been earmarked in aid to tribes, the poorest sections of the population and the fellow-countrymen returning home from abroad. As a result, 130,000 Afghans have returned home since the start of national reconciliation.

Yes, the Soviet troops are withdrawing, but, as MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN goes on to say: "The two neighbour countries and the two friendly peoples will further promote their cooperation in politics, economy, science, culture, as well as in the scientific and technological sphere." "We are for neutral, non-aligned and friendly Afghanistan."

However, interference in the Afghan internal affairs has not only stopped [as received] but even mounted after May 15. In this context the journal writes: "There cannot be such a situation when one side—Afghanistan and the Soviet Union—is acting in full commitment with the Geneva accords, while they have been grossly violated by the other side—Pakistan and the United States."

It is necessary that the world community pool its efforts to turn the Geneva agreements into an example for resolving other regional conflicts. Afghanistan after Geneva has glimmered hope and the task is not to lose this hope again.

Further on Visit by Afghan Official

Meets With Maslyukov

LD2907093488 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, received Sarwar Mangal, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, on Thursday.

Matters aimed at further developing economic, technical and trade cooperation as well cooperation between the USSR State Planning Committee and the Afghan Ministry of Planning were discussed during the friendly conversation.

The sides spoke out in favour of deepening the two countries' cooperation in the development of the Afghan economy in the conditions of the pursuance of the national reconciliation policy by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Signs Gas Accord

PM2807131588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Afghan Talks"]

[Text] On 27 July talks were held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations with an Afghan Government delegation led by S. Mangal, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Questions of further developing Soviet-Afghan economic, technical, and trade cooperation were discussed.

The sides signed agreements on cooperation in geological exploration work and the development of the gas industry, as well as other intergovernmental documents.

The documents were signed by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; S. Mangal; and S. Husayn, Afghan planning minister.

Gives News Conference

LD2707203188 Moscow TASS in English 1939 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—The USSR and Afghanistan have signed an agreement for geological prospecting operations for oil and gas and also solid minerals in Afghanistan, said Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Afghanistan Muhammad Sarwar Mangal. The Afghan representative, who came to the USSR at the head of a governmental delegation, addressed a press conference here today. "We have studied new forms and trends in cooperation directly linked with realisation of the national reconciliation policy in our country in new conditions, stemming from the withdrawal of a limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan," the Afghan deputy prime minister said.

In the course of negotiations discussed also were questions of expansion of Soviet-Afghan cooperation, specifically with the private sector of Afghanistan. The two sides considered prospects of joint ventures, establishment of joint stock companies, trade and production companies. The sides declared their readiness to cooperate in such areas as mining, extraction of minerals, transport, construction, public services.

Touching upon the Afghanistan situation, the deputy prime minister said that the Afghan side was consistently implementing the Geneva agreements. A group of U.N. observers are invariably controlling the process of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Muhammad Sarwar Mangal said that the forces of opposition intensified bombardment of settlements in the recent time, they fired 170 ground- to-ground missiles on Kabul in the past month alone. "Provoking the armed opposition for committing crimes against their people, Pakistan is trying to conceal its weakness", said the deputy prime minister.

He underlined the readiness of the Government of Afghanistan for a dialogue with representatives of opposition groups. The Afghan representative said: "Our government is a government of reconciliation, compromise and coalition. We do not attach any strings in negotiations with the opposition."

The deputy prime minister said that registered on frontier posts were 150,000 refugees, who returned to the country. The number in reality is greater since many refugees entered Afghanistan, bypassing frontier posts. 50,000 former members of the opposition laid down arms or came over to the legitimate government's side.

"The forces of the opposition are unable to overthrow our system or capture provinces from which Soviet troops have been withdrawn", said Muhammad Sarwar Mangal.

Spokesman on OGONEK Article on Afghanistan

LD2807181688 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—In connection with the questions addressed to the USSR Foreign Ministry about the viewpoints expressed by Major General Kim Tsagolov on the situation in Afghanistan, which was contained in his remarks in the interview with the OGONEK weekly, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry had this to say to a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

"This is the viewpoint of only Professor Tsagolov himself and is his own business. The pluralism of views in our conditions is becoming a usual phenomenon. The publication of the interview is the business of the editorial board of the OGONEK weekly of socio-political analysis and of literary publications, and of nobody else.

"As far as the Soviet side's stand is concerned, it is certainly, a different one. We believe that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has good positions in the country and pursues a correct policy according with the interests of the Afghan people and has every opportunity to lead things further confidently towards peace and national reconciliation of the Afghans. We are convinced that this line will triumph in Afghanistan".

Afghan Envoy Signs Cooperation Protocol

LD2607163288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1403 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jul (TASS)—A protocol on friendship and cooperation between the National Front of the Republic of Afghanistan and the National Committee of Popular Brigades for the Defense of Public Order of the Republic of Angola was signed in Moscow today. The signing ceremony took place in the residence of Muhammadullah Subhani Safi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Afghanistan Central Committee. Alexandre Lucas Lemos [name as received], member of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola Central Committee and secretary of the National Committee of Popular Brigades for the Defense of Public Order, was present.

This social and political document is aimed mainly at exchanging information and experience in carrying out the national reconciliation policy, which the Angolan Government is currently aspiring to carry out, Safi told a TASS correspondent.

CPSU Representatives Arrive in Tunis

PM2807153188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] CPSU representatives—A.A. Belyayev, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and chief editor of the CPSU Central Committee newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA (delegation head), and A.I. Kuzmin, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee International Department—left for Tunis 27 July at the invitation of the leadership of the Democratic Constitutional Union to participate in the work of this party's extraordinary congress.

The CPSU representatives arrived in the Tunisian capital the same day. They were met at the airport by members of the leadership of the Democratic Constitutional Union.

PRAVDA Welcomes Maghreb Summit

PM2807101388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Filatov dispatch: "Maghreb Gets Moving. North Africa on Road to Integration"]

[Excerpts] Algiers—Amicably linking arms, they smiled and posed for the photographers. The latter kept clicking their shutters. Their pictures were historic: The top leaders of five countries of North Africa—or the Maghreb, as the region is called here—were standing before the press in a united row in front of the Algerian president's residence.

Never had Algerian President C. Bendjedid, general secretary of the National Liberation Front, King Hassan II of Morocco, Tunisian President Z. El Abidine Ben Ali, M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, and M. Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, chairman of the Mauritanian Military Committee for National Salvation, specially gathered together. The Maghreb summit was an absolutely new phenomenon in the region's political life. The road to it was long and bumpy. [Passage omitted]

Now, following the Algerian summit, whose participants advocated the further development of economic and political cooperation among the countries of the region, the doors of integration would seem to be opening still wider. But the Western Sahara problem, on whose fair settlement the ultimate normalization of relations between the states of the region largely depends, remains unresolved.

What is the essence of the conflict? After the Spanish colonizers left in 1976, the Western Saharans that had fought them—headed by their organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia El Hamra and Rio de Oro [Polisario]—proclaimed the founding of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SDAR). It received all-around support from Algeria and extensive international recognition—it became a member of the OAU and established diplomatic relations with almost 70 countries.

In turn, Morocco stated its right to the liberated colony's lands as an inalienable part of its own territory seized by the Spanish and sent in troops, who were followed by settlers. Armed Polisario formations opposed the

Moroccan Army, which was equipped with the latest Western-produced hardware. And this part of Africa has been at war for more than 10 years now.

True, in recent months the OAU and the United Nations have again been making efforts to settle the conflict. In early May, for instance, UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar visited the Moroccan capital of Rabat, where he discussed this problem. As a way out of the deadlock it is proposed to organize a referendum on the question of Western Sahara's future, but no final decision has yet been made.

...Today the Maghreb, as the Algerian newspaper EL MOUDJAHID put it, has "gotten moving." In the countries of this large region, whose population is growing rapidly and is forecast to reach 100 million by the turn of the century, there is a growing realization that the problems facing them would better be resolved in an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and joint efforts.

Briefs

Afghan Provincial Delegation—A party-government delegation from the Afghan Sar-e Pol Province has been in the Tatar ASSR. A joint protocol was signed on the results of the visit, establishing cooperation through direct ties between the Tatar ASSR and Sar-e Pol Province. It was signed by M. Sh. Shaymiyev, chairman of the Tatar ASSR Council of Ministers, and Gharib Huseyn, governor and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council of People's Representatives of Sar-e Pol Province in Afghanistan. The protocol envisions a broad exchange of experience in work of party organizations and in guiding processes of economic and social construction, and also an exchange of experience in the spheres of education, culture, and public health. The sides drafted and approved a plan for implementation of cooperation through direct ties between the Tatar ASSR and Sar-e Pol Province for 1988-89. [Text] [*LD2007021188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 19 Jul 88*]

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopia's Mengistu Cables Gorbachev From Plane

LD2807150288 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, who was on a short working visit in the USSR from July 25 to 27, addressed a telegram from board plane to Mikahil Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, expressing profound gratitude for the warm, friendly reception accorded to him and the delegation accompanying him during the visit to Moscow.

Ethiopians Reaping Benefits of Economic Projects

LD2807203388 Moscow in English to North Africa 1700 GMT 21 Jul 88

[From the "Africa as We See It" feature]

[Text] Today's program is devoted to the achievements of the Ethiopian people in the social sphere. They say it is impossible to teach the old dog new tricks. This saying can be applied to the Western mass media. In their material about Ethiopia they tend to focus on two topics: famine and combat action in the country's north. At the same time they hush up or do not pay any attention to positive changes taking place in the life of the Ethiopian people, and give a biased evaluation of measures adopted by the revolutionary authorities.

For example, another round of the anti-Ethiopian campaign was triggered off by the government decision to recall a small group of the members of international organizations in providing assistance to starving people from the areas of combat actions in the north. However, grim forecasts that millions of people may find themselves under threat of death resulting from the evacuation of a handful of foreigners have (?proved) completely groundless. According to official reports, the Ethiopian commission on providing assistance and rebuilding and other public organizations distributed food almost among 2 million people; 2 million out of the estimated 2.1 million people who need food in the northern provinces of Eritrea and Tigray—the areas which are scenes of combat actions. Food is delivered to victims of the drought despite active opposition of the separatists, who enjoy sympathies of the Western mass media. And this despite the fact that the bandits burned more than one truck carrying grain and blew up bridges and destroyed wells.

However, the life in the young Ethiopian Republic is not confined, as the Western mass media try to picture, to difficulties in the north. The people are to carry out impressive tasks. The recent second session of the Ethiopian parliament has adopted the country's budget for the year 1988 through 1989. Priority is given to increasing the output of food products, fighting against the drought, creating new jobs, and increasing exports. A great deal of money is allocated to various far-reaching economic projects, as well as to the dynamic development of education, health service, and tourism.

People in Ethiopia already see concrete results. The level of illiteracy has gone down after the revolution from 93 to 29 percent. Practically every family has the opportunity to get qualified medical help, and in the cities to invite a doctor of emergency service at home [as heard]. A short while ago a free resort, (?Kalu), built by farmers of the province of Wollo, received first holidaymakers. Thousands of Ethiopian tourists have taken part in various excursions in the framework of the program "Learn Your Own Country." Raising people's living standards is always a priority task for the Ethiopian

Government, and this goal, despite provocations of the opponents of the Ethiopian revolution, is being carried out for the good of all people in the country.

Official Assesses African Economic Problems

LD2807180988 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 28 Jul 88

["Socialist-Oriented Countries: Achievements and Prospects" program; studio interview with Prof Nikolay Kosukhin, departmental head at the Africa Institute attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences, by unidentified correspondent on 20 July—recorded; Kosukhin remarks in Russian with superimposed Portuguese translation]

[Text] [Correspondent] Today we invite you to another meeting with Prof Nikolay Kosukhin, departmental head at the Africa Institute attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences. In the last talk we spoke of the importance of internal and external peace for the sound social and economic development of the independent countries, and noted the specific steps being made by the Angolan and Mozambican Governments in this connection.

[Kosukhin] There is no doubt that political stability is a sine qua non condition for progress. At the same time it is inconceivable without a firm economic basis. The 1980's were characterized by a sudden deterioration of the economic situation in practically all the African countries. The famine of 1984-85 affected 21 countries. This crisis did not spare the socialist-oriented states. To some of them, Ethiopia for example, it was a veritable scourge.

[Correspondent] What are the main causes of the economic difficulties in the socialist-oriented countries?

[Kosukhin] The influence of two factors can be singled out. First, the continuing exploitation by the transnational corporations and increasing political and military pressure; and second, the fact that so far the leaderships of the countries in question have not managed to find an efficient economic development model for their countries, a model that would take into account all their specific traits.

The African countries' traditional dependence on the capitalist markets places them in a very vulnerable postion. A sudden drop occurred in the price of raw materials accompanied by a rise in the price of the Western countries' industrial products. All this harmed the economies of the socialist-oriented countries.

On the other hand there is no doubt that the undeclared war in Angola, the bandits' terrorism in Mozambique, and the droughts of 1984-85 also had an effect on these countries' economic indicators.

[Correspondent] What means are their leaders using in an attempt to overcome the crisis?

[Kosukhin] The leaders of the socialist-oriented countries are taking steps to curb foreign capital and to expunge it from the main sectors of the economy; steps are being taken for the rational use of local enterprise, for widening the state sector, and for laying down planning principles.

However, the harsh situation that emerged in the 1980's forced these countries into substantially slowing down the pace of the planned changes. Sometimes it became necessary to reduce the state sector and close some loss-making enterprises. The role of external financial sources remains substantial.

[Correspondent] Does the private sector play an important role in these countries?

[Kosukhin] It is being maintained and cannot but be maintained in all the socialist-oriented countries. Foodstuffs, goods, and services are mainly provided by the private sector. Moreover, new jobs created in this sector are quite indispensable for resolving the problem of unemployment.

There have been changes of attitude toward the private sector. At first it was regarded as a threat to the revolutionary process and the idea was to make it disappear as quickly as possible. However, it eventually became necessary to take the real economic situation into account. The leaders concluded that, under efficient control from party and state, the private sector will, for the foreseeable future, play an important role in the countries' economic development.

The programs approved in Angola and Mozambique to place their economies on a sound footing—the program for financial and economic recovery and the economic rehabilitation programme—ascribe a substantial role to the private sector.

[Correspondent] The private sector is also bound to be maintaining its positions in agriculture.

[Kosukhin] The backwardness of this sector is seriously delaying the general economic progress of the African countries. Most of them, including the socialist-oriented ones, are not self-sufficient in foodstuffs. So what is the solution? After independence foreign owned farming concerns were nationalized, and colonial and feudal-type farming was liquidated. The peasants with little land of their own were given new plots.

However, from the economic standpoint the results of the agrarian reform were not an unqualified success, and the tasks it set out to achieve were not realized. On the other hand, an end was put to the exploitation of peasants; the steps taken prevented the development of capitalist-type relationships in agriculture. But on the

other hand, the distribution of land to the peasants led to an increase in their own consumption and to a marked reduction in production for the market. Neither state nor cooperative farming was widely developed. At the same time industry is not yet in a position to satisfy—and much less to motivate—demand for its product among the rural population.

An analysis of the errors made in the recent past due to the haste with which it was sought to resolve the problems of cooperation in production has now prompted a more pondered, phased approach to such tasks. In this connection Ethiopia's experience is interesting.

In examining the results of changes in agriculture in the socialist-oriented countries, it would be unfair to go to either extreme of overestimating or underestimating what has already been achieved. Overall quite a lot has been done. There is visible progress not just in the sphere of production but also on the social level, which is extremely important. The countryside is gradually changing. Traditional farming relations are disappearing and giving way to collective forms of organized labor. But there is still a lot to be done by the socialist-oriented countries before agricultural production reaches the proper level.

East Europe

Hungary Seen as Source of Useful Lessons

PM2807113788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Jul 88 p 7

[Yuriy Belkin "Hungarian Notebook" article: "Borrow All That Is Good...."]

[Text] Budapest-Moscow—Articles describing successes in the spheres of science, technology, and the economy are appearing with increasing frequency in our newspapers under the rubric "Friends' Experience." There are fewer items on achievements in the sphere of democracy and civil rights, about the standards of social culture which helps to shape people's self-awareness. And yet there are things we can learn in these spheres. Even though Hungary still faces quite a few acute unsolved problems, which are frequently the topic of Hungarian press material, it has also accumulated rich experience and practice.

Jozsef Martin, staff member of the newspaper MAGYAR NEMZET, invited me to his home. He lives with his wife and two children on Lenin Street in the very heart of Budapest, a stone's throw from the editorial office where he works. His apartment consists of four rooms and a kitchen.

"We've been living in this apartment for 12 years now," Jozsef Martin told me, "but it was only 7 years ago that we acquired legal title to it. Until that time we did not have 'our own home.'"

"And how did you acquire it?"

"Housing is Hungary's No 1 problem," my interlocutor went on. "There are only a few ways you can acquire a home: You can inherit from your parents, you can buy one that has already been built, or you can build one yourself. Building a home is a very costly pleasure, even though about 80 percent of the population have been applying this particular solution to their housing question in recent years. It is also possible to put your name on the waiting list and wait for an apartments from the state. But the state builds only a few—this is the effect of the shortage of finance. You are likely to turn gray before you get your home."

"So, what is the solution?"

Jozsef Martin told me: There is a widespread original form for "subleasing" housing in Hungary, whereby you commit yourself not only to pay for communal services but also to keep the owner of the apartment who rents you the accommodation. In his case, the apartment was owned by an elderly lady, a professor's widow with a very small pension. She and her tenants concluded a mutually advantageous contract whereby they undertook to fully keep the landlady and look after her until the end of her life. Following her death, they acquired the apartment in their own right.

Had the state not found this solution to the housing problem, many people, including my own family, would have been in a spot,...my colleague said in conclusion.

The idea then crossed my mind: What a way to solve two problems at once—housing and care for the elderly, looking after people living on their own, especially those who receive small pensions.

Solicitude for people can be noticed everywhere in Hungary. Here are just a few sketches, eyewitness reports as it were.

Every single telephone booth—whether in the street, in an underpass, or in the subway—has a directory listing the telephone numbers of the city's residents and various institutions. Nobody steals them, tears them up, or damages them. The standard of the people's culture is so high that they do not even think of doing this....

Enter any one of Budapest's large department stores, and inside you will find a savings bank branch, a laundry, a dry cleaner's, and all sorts of workshops—watch and clock repairs, hardware repairs, optical services. The efforts and time that are saved by such a well-organized system of services for the population! The Hungarian service industry, marching in step with the times, is expanding the services sphere year by year. In the "Skala" Department Store you can use a special device

to "choose" a fashionable haircut. In the "Korvin" Department Store you can have the photograph of your idol or your girlfriend printed on a T-shirt in a matter of minutes, while you wait....

Inside buses and streetcars and in subway stations you will always see posters advertising forthcoming events in the capital. And while on the subject of transport, it must be said that the city authorities have given more thought to people than in our own country—streetcars and buses run all through the night.

Go to a pharmacy, for example. Mineral water is on sale in every single one. In addition, there is a small table with a carafe of ordinary water. You want to take your pill there and then—please, help yourself.

Our press has been debating for years the question of gas stations: Where should they be sited—on the outskirts or in the city center? This question was solved a long time ago in Hungary. Budapest has gas stations for cars virtually everywhere. You can have small repairs done there, you can have your oil changed. Surrounded by greenery, spotlessly clean, no old oil stains....

The city is particularly concerned with public catering. Cafes, restaurants, cafeterias, drinking bars, snack bars—a countless multitude. State-owned and private alike. Enough to accommodate both locals and visitors. People here don't know what it is to wait in line. As for prices, private cafes are, as a rule, slightly cheaper than the state-owned ones. And the quality of their food can be even better. Cafe owners have to bear the competition in mind, they have to think of how to attract customers. Some offer unusual decor, others offer home cooking, yet others offer national cuisine or rock music. Order a cup of coffee or a couple of bottles of beer, and you and your friend can sit at the table for as long as you like. Nobody is likely to be rude to you, nobody will start reminding you of the time....

Walking around the city is like leafing through a huge trade catalog. The display windows are full of goods. Every item has a price tag. You do not have to go inside the store to find out if the goods are in stock. You only have to look in the window. It is the store's face. If something is in the window, it is certainly available for sale. This is the law of Hungarian trade. It is hard to imagine that someone has stacked something beneath the counter. As a matter of fact, counters as such are almost nonexistent. All the goods are there to see, openly displayed and attractively packaged. The number of sales personnel is also down to a minimum—staff are simply not necessary. Those who work are the ones that are absolutely essential. You look at Hungarian window displays and sadly think of our own. After all, more often than not our window displays mean nothing in terms of availability of goods, they mislead and confuse the purchaser. We are used to seeing our store windows either empty, or filled with tasteless decorations, or stuffed full with ostentatious displays of articles which you can only dream of acquiring....

Many new hotels have been built in Hungary in the last few years. Even so, there is a shortage of hotel beds: The country with its population of 10 million plays host to up to 15 million tourists each year. But a solution was found. The "Budapest-Tourist", "Volan-Tourist," and "Ibusz" firms have opened accommodation bureaus where every visitor, Hungarian or foreign, can book accommodations. Individual residents of the city undertake to look after the visitors. This has proved mutually advantageous: A share of the profit goes to the apartment owner, the remainder—often in foreign currency—goes to the state budget.

Our press recently reported the introduction of new procedures for travel abroad. Indeed, the procedure has been simplified to a large degree. But.... While staying in my friend's home, I happened to see his Hungarian foreign travel passport. It was not held in some militia safe, like in our country, but was kept inside a chest. It carried a stamp allowing multiple journeys to socialist countries. The passport was valid for 5 years. He can buy a ticket and travel to Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, or the GDR at any time. Without any special militia permit....

The Hungarian passport has another fairly important feature: It contains 64 pages, rather than 6 pages like ours. This means that the holder can cross the border dozens of times before having to change the document. As for our passports, regardless of the fact that they are also valid for 5 years, they in fact have to be changed after three or four trips. Very simply, they run out of pages for border control stamps. In this way, their actual validity is just 1 year. Consequently, you have to again apply for a passport, again pay the fees, again have your photograph taken, again apply for visas, again waste time waiting in lines. No, we certainly seem unable to finally abandon the bureaucratic red tape....

Vladimir Ilich [Lenin] advised us to take on everything good that exists in any country and any people. There is no doubt that the Hungarian experience can prove highly useful in the work on restructuring and our society's democratic renewal. I am convinced that the interpenetration of our two peoples' ideas and cultures and their mutual enrichment will yield rich fruit.

West Europe

Genscher Cited on Vienna Talks, Upcoming Visit

LD2807220988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1409 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn, 28 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev reports: Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG minister of foreign affairs, has spoken in favor of the speediest completion of the consultations in Vienna on

working out a mandate of the talks on mutual cuts in armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. In an interview for the Saarland Radio, which was released today, he stressed that the proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries adopted in Warsaw had in many ways facilitated the movement of the sides toward each other, which, in his opinion, created favorable chances for progress on the path of conventional armaments. That was why it was essential that all opportunities for resolving this crucial issue of European security were used.

Touching on the forthcoming visit to the USSR, the minister noted its special significance for developing relations between the two countries. The very fact of holding regular consultations of foreign ministers of the two states, he said, indicated that we are making a qualitatively new step along that path, opening a new chapter in bilateral relations, as was suggested in 1987 by M.S. Gorbachev.

The 19th all-union party conference was held a short while ago, reasserting the reform-bound policy line of the new Soviet leadership. I hope, therefore, Genscher stated, that the visit will give a new impetus to Soviet-West German economic cooperation and outline new forms for its development. In his opinion, the FRG and the USSR are aware of the importance of expanding bilateral ties not only for both states but for East-West relations on the whole.

Official Comments on Visit

LD2907095588 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—"The forthcoming visit (which begins today) of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) will be made following the conclusion and ratification of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty. Herein is its special importance", Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has said in an interview to a TASS diplomatic correspondent. "Because the INF Treaty directly affects the FRG: U.S. Pershing missiles subject to elimination are stationed on the territory of that country".

Attention has been paid in the Soviet Union to the minister's speech over Saarland Radio, in which he called for the speediest successful completion of consultations in Vienna on the elaboration of a mandate for talks on reducing the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and gave a positive appraisal of the initiatives of the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Commitee of the Warsaw Treaty member states. "In this connection, there is no doubt that the conventional arms issue will occupy one of central places during talks in Moscow", the Soviet diplomat emphasized.

The idea of building a 'common European home', the idea which was put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during his speech in the Polish Sejm, has been regarded with considerable interest among the leadership of the FRG and the public circles of that country, the spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs went on to say. "Apparently, this subject will also take an appropriate place during the forthcoming talks", Yuriy Gremitskikh believes.

The Soviet side attaches much importance to the forthcoming meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Moscow in October this year and in Bonn in the first half of 1989.

"The visit of Hans-Dietrich Genscher will become a stage in preparation for the meetings which will determine priorities in our bilateral relations, and will provide opportunities to broaden mutual understanding in security and disarmament issues", the Soviet diplomat underlined.

Further on Visit by FRG Minister Kiechle

Calls for Cooperation

LD2307174388 Hamburg DPA in German 1625 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Moscow/Bonn (DPA)—At the start of his 9-day visit to the USSR, Federal Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle called for wide-ranging German-Soviet cooperation. Going beyond economic concerns, the two countries should use the opportunities for such cooperation in politics, culture, sports, and the humanitarian area, Kiechle said during a dinner in Moscow on Saturday. He emphasized the already-existing good cooperation in industry and science, and said that it was an important contribution toward removing mistrust and toward gaining better mutual understanding. [passage omitted]

Meets With Murakhovskiy

PM2507131288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received I. Kiechle, FRG federal minister of food, agriculture, and forestry, on 23 July.

During the conversation they exchanged detailed information on the development of agro-industrial production in both countries and analyzed the results of cooperation in the sphere of agriculture and its service sectors.

The minister was briefed on the course of restructuring, the tasks stemming from the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions, the new economic mechanism for managing the USSR agro-industrial complex, and the measures being taken to build up food production.

I. Kiechle noted that people in the FRG follow with attention the transformations in the Soviet Union and welcome the innovative activity on easing tension and strengthening trust between West and East.

Special attention was given during the meeting to questions of deepening and expanding bilateral cooperation in crop farming and seed cultivation, stock raising and livestock breeding, processing of agricultural products, and in other spheres of the agro-industrial complex.

Both sides expressed interest in the development of new forms of foreign economic ties, including ties based on production sharing and the creation of joint enterprises.

FRG Ambassador to the USSR A. Meyer-Landrut took part in the conversation.

The delegation headed by I. Kiechle will visit Moscow, Leningrad, and Tselinograd Oblasts and Krasnodar Kray and will see for itself the work of a number of agro-industrial complex enterprises and organizations.

Discusses Agriculture Supplies

LD2607084188 Hamburg DPA in German 1645 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Federal Food Minister Ignaz Kiechle is hoping for an increase in Federal German agricultural exports to the Soviet Union after first talks today. Kiechle told journalists in Moscow today that he is thinking of possibilities to deliver grain, pesticides, and agricultural machines, as well as plants for the food and packing industries. The minister's main partner in the talks was Vsevelod Murakhovskiy, chairman of USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee.

Agricultural exports from the Federal Republic fell last year by 9 percent to DM468 million compared to the previous year. In the meantime the Soviet Union wants to expand its foodstuff production and will probably take advantage of a German bank credit to the tune of some DM3 billion for this. Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed several times that a speedy expansion of foodstuff production is required.

Kiechle said that "precise prerequisites" for this cooperation must now be created. Agreement on this had now been reached in principal. It was learned from delegation circles that the German side is hoping for a Soviet list with the most urgent requirements. It was said that these relate in particular to foodstuff packaging and the production of bakery goods.

Kiechle intends to visit the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan and the Soviet grain area at Krasnodar in the Northern Caucasus before the end of this week.

FRG Responses to Bloc Initiatives Viewed

PM2606100388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Bovkun "Letter From Bonn": "Interpretation of 'Cautious Optimism'"]

[Text] The results of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference have prompted contradictory opinions in Bonn. The point is not even that affinity with one political party or another has ceased to be the main factor determining the reaction to peace initiatives from the East. There are optimists and skeptics everywhere.

The formula "cautious optimism," which combines statements in favor of disarmament with calls for "restraint," has recently become current among the leadership of the ruling parties. M. Geiger, representative of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU)-Christian Social Union (CSU) faction in the Bundestag, has possibly surpassed everyone in the contradictory nature of her opinions. At first she expressed a negative attitude to the idea of a meeting of all European state leaders to discuss the question of conventional arms cuts and then, literally 2 days later, she welcomed it as an opportunity to remove the imbalances and asymmetries in this sphere.

Federal Chancellor H. Kohl has appraised the final documents of the Political Consultative Committee as interesting and meriting serious consideration. The chancellor explained that the FRG has a greater interest than any other country in measures to reduce conventional arms. In his opinion, the proposals made in Warsaw bring the positions of East and West closer together and give the West the opportunity to check them for feasibility. This is because we judge by action and not by words, Kohl added. Moreover, disarmament only makes sense if the end result is greater security rather than less security. This moralizing maxim appears to give foundation to the cautiously optimistic stand taken by the Federal Government.

The new FRG defense minister, R. Scholz, has been somewhat more specific. Unlike his predecessor, M. Woerner, Scholz regards these proposals as a "real opportunity to achieve greater security." The foundation of NATO's counterinitiative, the minister emphasized, must be a unified concept from the Western countries.

Scholz' viewpoint is shared by A. Dregger, leader of the CDU-CSU faction, who, albeit from a right-wing, conservative standpoint, has recently spoken in favor of greater independence for the FRG in its relations with the United States. What interests him most in the

Warsaw Pact proposals is that they "are made in the general context of security, just as disarmament tasks should be formulated within a general NATO concept."

Incidentally, as we have been given to understand in private conversations with some Bonn politicians, it is this absence of a unified disarmament platform in the West that is one of the main reasons for the cautious stand taken by the FRG, which is looking over its shoulder at Washington.

"Surely you must have realized," one of my interlocutors asked in surprise, "that the United States is deliberately putting the brake on the development of a new concept for the alliance as it waits for a new president? The right to affirm this concept will be given to the new master of the White House. That is why the FRG should not hurry events."

Another reason for the caution shown by official Bonn circles is that there are still some fears and worries to be overcome. A correspondent with a daily newspaper close to the Bonn Foreign Ministry admitted in a burst of candor:

"Of course, the West does not want to have to give up deploying its F-16 aircraft in Italy. After all, they are the long arm of the Western superpower: Not only do they protect NATO's southern flank and Israel but, what is more, they protect Western interests in North Africa and the Persian Gulf...."

In other words, the old strong-arm approach is still slowing down the process of strengthening trust toward the East.

"The new way of thinking, which requires the dominant trend of military thinking to be abandoned everywhere," M. Mueller, Bundestag deputy from the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), emphasized in this connection, "can only become established in Europe if narrow, parochial ideas on security are eradicated once and for all."

The Warsaw Pact countries' proposals have aroused great interest among the SPD leadership. In particular, the SPD Presidium has recommended that the West accept the Warsaw Pact proposals on conventional arms. The Social Democrats have urged the Federal Government to come to a final decision on whether it is necessary to convene an all-NATO summit conference to coordinate a response to the initiatives from the East. An all-European meeting of Eastern and Western states is necessary in any case. If a mandate is agreed in Vienna to hold talks on conventional arms, the meeting proposed in Warsaw will define the specific aims of these talks.

SPD Chairman H.-J. Vogel has described the Warsaw Pact initiatives as "a political proposal to end military confrontation in Europe once and for all," which requires an appropriate political response from the West. "We are not talking about greater arms control or cuts in some weapons systems. We are talking about the foundations of a 'European home' which can only be laid on a joint basis," H.-J. Vogel believes. "The Warsaw Pact proposals are sufficiently flexible. Realization of the intention to begin conventional arms talks this year, which has been so often stated by the West itself, cannot be put off because of the U.S. presidential election. For political and financial reasons we cannot lose a single year."

Another prominent figure in the SPD, E. Bahr, who has expressed satisfaction that the documents of the Warsaw meeting also reflect some Social Democratic ideas, believes that they open up new prospects for postwar European politics.

The new chances for real detente in Europe have also been discussed by FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher, who has underlined the need for parity-based disarmament.

The "European signal" is clearly regarded by democratic public circles in the FRG as evidence of the consistency and sincerity of the efforts made by the Soviet Union and its allies to speed up the process of military detente in the interests of all European peoples.

"The persistence with which the socialist countries are putting forward more and more new ideas, which their sluggish Western partners find it hard to stomach, inspires respect," the well-known writer Bernt Engelmann said in a conversation with me. "The Soviet Union has already demonstrated a sufficient degree of reliability as a political partner. Consequently, calls to verify words by action should be addressed to the Western side. You cannot hire out security."

FRG To Cooperate in Air, Space Industry

LD2807170488 Hamburg DPA in German 1007 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA/VWD)—The FRG and the Soviet Union have agreed to fundamental closer cooperation in the air and space industries. Erich Riedl (CSU) [Christian Social Union], parliamentary state secretary in the Federal Economics Industry, announced in Moscow at the end of his 5-day visit today [28 July] that the two sides have agreed on establishing five working groups, each consisting of technicians and experts, which are initially to sound out the possibilities for cooperation.

Leading representatives of the German air and space industries, who accompanied Riedl on his visit, are represented in the groups for engine construction, industrial planning, aircraft, space, and materials. The state secretary and Apollon Systsov, Soviet minister for the Aviation Industry, signed a corresponding protocol on the talks.

The CSU politician was impressed with the high quality of the Soviet products he had seen in a visit to two engine factories in Voronezh and Zaporozhye, which had hitherto been inaccessible. Soviet technology has been "underestimated." With regard to the Cocom list of Western technological products, the export of which to the USSR is prohibited, Riedl also said: "This list can certainly afford to be trimmed down."

Murakhovskiy Receives UK Firm's Delegation

LD2107204388 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee of the USSR Vsevolod Murakhovskiy today received representatives of the ICI [Imperial Chemical Industries PLC] firm led by Dr A. Hayes, member of the British Overseas Trade Board.

In the course of the meeting the two sides summed up the results of the firm's 30 year long cooperation with enterprises anud organisations of the Soviet agro-industrial complex. Discussed were a number of concrete proposals and broadening trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

Paper Views UK Defense Spending Plans

PM2707134588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[V. Kozyulin article under the "International Notes" rubric: "London: The Gamble Is the Same"]

[Text] The British Government has submitted the draft defense expenditure for fiscal 1988-1989. This expenditure totals 19.21 billion pounds sterling. That is 235 million pounds more than previously planned. Nonetheless, it is not a limit. According to British press reports, in 1989-1990 military expenditure may grow to 19.95 billion pounds sterling.

When the draft was made public it was stipulated that the Defense Ministry is faced with "a difficult choice of priorities in its further plans." However, although Defense Secretary Younger did not actually state what this "difficult choice" was, some conclusions can be drawn even now. The Tory government obviously has no intention of abandoning the favorite offspring of the "nuclear deterrent" policy—the program for modernizing nuclear forces. And, as is well known, this program includes two main projects: the building of submarines with Trident missiles and the replacement of free-fall bombs with air to ground cruise missiles.

The implementation of these plans conceals a tremendous danger to international stability. The newspaper THE FINANCIAL TIMES writes that "every Trident submarine with 16 missiles on board, even if each is equipped with just 4 warheads, will have a destructive force equivalent to 6 million tonnes of explosive—which is equal to the fire power used so far in all wars in history."

The results of public opinion polls among the British populace show that their attitude toward the Trident program is changing drastically. Whereas in April, according to AP, 69 percent of those polled favored the implementation of this program, by early June 32 percent of those taking part in a poll expressed themselves in favor of preserving this program on condition that the strategic missiles' total strike power did not exceed the present level. Only 11 percent of those polled supported the government on this issue.

Another project on which a substantial proportion of the country's defense budget will be spent is the creation of a new air-to-ground nuclear missile. This missile, launched outside the air defense zone, will replace the obsolete free-fall WE-177 aviation bombs. It is believed that this project will be implemented by Britain in conjunction with the United States or France. These missiles will equip the British Tornado aircraft. The replacement of bombs with nuclear missiles having a range of about 500 km will considerably expand the British Air Force's potential in delivering nuclear strikes.

"Britain could become a nuclear superpower" is the conclusion reached by THE DAILY MAIL. Defense Secretary Younger expressed this prospect as follows: "The signs of changes in Soviet society seem favorable. But we should not be complacent.... NATO should retain a strong defense, both conventional and nuclear, to maintain its defense forces on forward lines, and the flexible response concept."

"We should not be complacent"—the secretary addresses this appeal not only to his own government but also to the governments of its allies. Here the hackneyed stories of the Soviet Union's alleged considerable preponderance of conventional armaments are again put into circulation. According to British and other NATO politicians, the Soviet side must effect a substantial unilateral reduction of conventional armaments in Europe for the Western countries to go to nuclear disarmament talks. As justification for such statements, Britain produces vast statistical reports on Soviet military power, forgetting to cite similar figures for its own country and its allies.

The Warsaw Pact has no aggressive plans. That is enshrined in black and white in the military doctrine of its member states. It is also a fact that the USSR and the United States have admitted that there can be no winner in modern war. But, as though they are continuing to live in yesterday, the British conservatives are obstinately steering a course toward building up nuclear power under cover of arguments about the "Soviet military threat."

It is becoming obvious that this obstinacy is also preventing the Tories from expressing clearly and unambiguously their attitude toward recent initiatives put forward by the Warsaw Pact states' political consultative committee. Official London is silent. And this silence does not accord with its repeated statements of readiness to support constructive proposals aimed at consolidating peace and security.

Mikhaylov Reviews U.S.-French Defense Ties

LD2707220688 Moscow International Service in French 1700 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Excerpts] During his visit to Paris, U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary William Taft met with French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement. During this meeting, he exhorted France to increase its military expenditure. There are plenty of surprises in the statements by the Pentagon's emissary, writes our observer Vsevolod Mikhaylov. Specifically, his words—the advice or instructions given to the government of another country concerning its defense policy—were stated in a protective and unembarassed way. [passage omitted] However, everything suggests that Paris was not offended. Does this mean that the border separating France and the military organization of NATO has become insignificant, following the recent closer cooperation between Paris and this organization? Does this mean this has ceased to be noticed on both sides of the ocean and the Pentagon no longer sees any difference between France and the other members of the integrated command structure?

In any case, the Pentagon representatives feel they have the right to give France grades for its conduct in the defense field. During a news conference organized in Paris, William Taft complimented France in a fatherly way, saying its military expenditure is at a good level on average. Actually the Pentagon should be satisfied with French military policy; its appropriations for military purposes have substantially increased, especially under the right-wing government. [passage omitted]

Under the new government, military policy has not changed substantially. New Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement has ruled out any reduction of the military budget and has made known his intention of continuing to implement the military programming law. The first new Mirage 2000 bombers and the first new air-to-surface ASMP intermediate-range missiles appeared in France this month. Nonetheless, the ally across the ocean is demanding that France make greater military efforts.

During the news conference, William Taft said straight out that the United States expects more of the French Government, above all, as he expressed it, since a consensus rare among the European states exists in this country over defense policy. According to the militarist logic of William Taft, the existence of this consensus enables an even heavier burden of military expenditure to be imposed on France and the French people. However, this American is not taking into account the fact that whereas the leaders of the right and the socialists as a whole keep to this consensus, this is not the case with the French people, who recommend that their country actively participates in the process of nuclear disarmament. This is confirmed by public opinion polls and by the results of the recent elections, during which the majority of voters did not support the excessive passion of the right to increase military arsenals at the expense of social and economic needs.

Nonetheless, the striking feature in the statements by the U.S. deputy defense secretary is the timing chosen to call on France to increase with more vigor its military effort. In fact, under the INF Treaty, the dismantling of Soviet and U.S. missiles is beginning in Europe, and talks are continuing in Geneva on a substantial reduction of strategic arsenals of the USSR and the United States. In short, the process of demilitarization of international relations is developing. The implementation, if the West consents, of the socialist countries' proposals on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe and the convening of a European conference on these problems would contribute substantially to this. Officially Paris and Washington welcomed these proposals with interest, which makes even greater the puzzlement aroused by the advice from the Pentagon emissary given in Paris.

It appears that certain Atlanticist politicians have not renounced the idea of compensating for missiles due to be destroyed by increasing the weapons of France and the other West European countries which are not covered by the INF Treaty, thus compensating for the missiles to be destroyed, writes our commentator Vsevolod Mikhaylov in conclusion.

Danes Watch Soviet Submarines Exit Baltic

PM2607140588 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 22 Jul 88 p 4

["NEB" report: "Soviet Warships Through the Great Belt"]

[Excerpts] A Soviet Golf-class submarine yesterday left the Baltic through the Great Belt escorted by a Mirka-class frigate. It was the second submarine of this class to pass through the Great Belt in a short time. The last time the submarine turned around for some inexplicable reason and returned to its usual hunting grounds in the Baltic. [passage omitted]

The two submarines, which were kept under surveillance by [Danish] Air Force planes and Navy ships throughout their passage, passed through the western part of the Baltic during Wednesday night [20 July] and passed the Great Belt Thursday morning, the Navy Operational Command announced.

Italian Communist Party Decisions Reported

PM2607150988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Plenum Over"]

[Text] Rome, 22 Jul—The 18th routine Italian Communist Party [PCI] Congress will take place next February. A decision on this was adopted at the Central Committee and Central Control Commission plenum, which ended here late Thursday evening.

PCI Secretary General Achille Occhetto delivered the final remarks at the plenum. He noted the important radical changes under way in international relations, where policy has begun to prevail over the logic of force and where the principle of the interconnected nature of the world is continuing to assert itself. A great positive contribution to the development of this process, the speaker pointed out, can be expected from the Soviet Union and its present leadership.

The PCI secretary general stressed the important nature of the debate that unfolded at the plenum on questions concerning the preparations for the Italian Communists' upcoming forum, where the question will be raised of the need to renew the party on the basis of "a profound and clear understanding of what the PCI constitutes and what demands modern society makes of it."

Profound analysis of the PCI's role in society and its significance as a party raising the question of Italy's renewal in all resoluteness and certainty, he pointed out, is a decisive factor in the country's future. The Communists must focus their strategic line on the solution of problems linked with state reform, labor, employment, environmental protection, the attainment of equality for men and women, and also the socioeconomic development of the country's southern regions. They must also see it as their immediate task to seek new means of combating injustice and inequality that accord with the spirit of the time.

The plenum examined a number of organizational questions. Massimo D'Alema, a member of the PCI Directorate, was appointed the new director of L'UNITA.

CPSU To Open Communist International Archives

LD2607224588 Rome Domestic Service in Italian 2200 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Excerpt] The CPSU Central Committee intends to open the archives of the Communist International to scholars and other communist parties. This was announced by an adviser from the Soviet Embassy in Rome who was on his way to the Botteghe Oscure to inform the PCI [Italian Communist Party]. The adviser met Antonio Rubbi, the official in charge of the party's international relations, in Botteghe Oscure. [passage omitted]

U.S. Interests To Remain in Spain

LD2807214788 Moscow in Spanish to Spain 2100 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] The signing in January of this year of the Hispano-U.S. agreement, by which the 72 U.S. F-16's will be withdrawn from Spanish soil over a period of 3 years, apparently opened the way for the completion of work on a new agreement with regard to bilateral cooperation in defense matters. However, hopes that following the eighth round of Hispano-U.S. talks a new agreement would be signed before the expiry of the agreement signed in 1982 were not justified. Here is what our observer Oleg Arsenyev writes on this:

During the talks new difficulties arose which the Spanish rightly blame on the Americans. Up to now there has been no agreement on the form which will be adopted in the new document on nuclear matters. Will Madrid be able to get all the conditions into the document which were approved in the national referendum in March 1986? We should recall that these conditions lay down a ban on the entry, storing, and installation of nuclear weapons on Spanish territory. However, judging by it all, the most important thing for the United States is for the future document to contain the possibility of their aicraft, armed with nuclear weapons, overflying Spanish territory.

The U.S. military presence on Spanish soil remains at the same level, our observer continues. On 15 January this year an agreement in principle was reached which envisages the withdrawal of the U.S. F-16's from Spain. However, it seems that the new Hispano-U.S. military treaty will come into effect by the beginning of the agreed 3-year period. The treaty still has to be concluded, signed, and ratified—how much time will be needed for this? The F-16's will be withdrawn, but will this resolve the problem of the Pentagon bases in Spain? More than likely it won't. In the United States they are saying that the withdrawal of the 401st Tactical Air Wing from Spain is the maximum and final thing that Washington can do while maintaining the security of the Atlantic Alliance and Spain.

In the U.S. capital they are already talking about the United States being able to use the base at Torrejon, should it need to, for the technical servicing of its aircraft. Moreover, the possibility is not being ruled out of the Torrejon base being given back in the event of conflict, with Spain as a NATO member being forced to fulfill its commitment to confronting aggression.

However, the Pentgagon does not confine its interests in Spain to the Torrejon base. The Stars and Stripes fly over the bases at Zarogoza, Moron, and Rota. U.S. submarines enter the base at Rota. The Pentagon intends to carry out a considerable expansion of the military port facilities in order to provide the 6th Fleet with everything it needs at the base. The conversion of the ports of La Palma, Malaga, and Barcelona into support points for the 6th Fleet is also planned.

In short, the U.S. generals and politicians continue to see Spain as an important garrison for increasing its war preparations. The atmosphere of mystery in which the United States always shrouds its talks with Spain cannot conceal the obvious. That is to say, the U.S. stance has been meticulously drawn up with the aim of leaving in order to stay. The rest is nothing more than a screen to hide U.S. militarist intentions in Spain.

In the United States they don't worry too much about the fact that foreign military bases offend national dignity, that these bases are the rudiments of the cold war and are in contradiction with the new mentality in international relations. The bases have nothing in common with the interests of Spain, and it is for this reason that a movement is growing in the country for the dismantling of the foreign military bases which the Spanish rightly describe as the arsenals of the Pentagon. This was the reason for the creation of the national committee for a referendum on the U.S. bases, and 100,000 signatures have already been collected to this end.

Contract Signed With Greece for Gas Supplies

LD2607190188 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Athens July 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Malyshev:

The Soviet Union and Greece signed a contract today for supplies of Soviet natural gas to Greece.

Under the contract, the Soviet Union will deliver to this country about 50 billion cubic metres of gas from 1992 till 2016.

The contract creates good prerequisites for increasing Soviet purchases of Greek commodities needed by the Soviet economy.

Demichev Receives Outgoing Turkish Envoy

LD2207164088 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Being neighbouring countries, the Soviet Union and Turkey should maintain their relations at a high level, look for new possibilities of their further positive development.

That was underlined during a friendly talk between alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Vice President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Petr Demichev and Turkey's Ambassador to the USSR Oktay Cankardes, in the Kremlin today. The ambassador was received at his request in connection with his forthcoming final departure for home.

The great international significance of the perestroyka processes, their impact on consolidation of world security and peace were noted in the course of the meeting. The sides were unanimous in expressing the opinion that the deepening of Soviet-Turkish relations in different areas met the fundamental interests of our peoples, the cause of peace and universal security.

The two sides expressed the mutual striving for consolidation of realtions between the USSR and Turkey and noted that the USSR's political course of broad transformations, the atmosphere of public openness and democratisation in all spheres of life of Soviet society promoted perfection of these relations.

Women's Leader Meets Turkish Communists' Wives

LD2807212888 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—The Soviet women are subscribing to the world public demands that the trial of leaders of Turkish Communists be ended and they be immediately released. This has been stated today by Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee Zoya Pukhova.

The CPSU Central Committee, a number of Soviet public organisations earlier firmly supported the demand for their release.

Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee had a meeting with Indji Akar, wife of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey Haydar Kutlu, and Indis Sargin, wife of the General Secretary of the Workers Party of Turkey. Zoya Pukhova asked them to convey to their husbands cordial greetings and wishes of success, will-power and courage in the struggle for democracy and peace.

The trial of the leaders of Turkish Communists is continuing in Turkey. They were arrested in November 16, 1987, right after their return from emigration. On the eve of their return home, they addressed a press conference in Moscow and openly declared their intention to return to their country to promote legal activities of the United Communist Party, the agreement on its formation was reached between the Communist Party of Turkey and the Workers Party of Turkey in autumn 1987.

Many representatives of political parties, influential organs of mass media, workers in culture declared in Turkey against the arrest of Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin, for legalization of the Communist Party. Their release was demanded by the Europarliament, many communist and workers parties, social democrats, representatives of other parties and public organisations of different countries.

Briefs

TASS, REUTER Sign Agreement

London July 26 TASS—The Soviet news agency TASS and the REUTER news agency signed a new long-term agreement here on expanding exchanges in the field of political and economic information. The agreement was signed by

REUTER Managing Director Glen Renfrew and TASS Director General Sergey Losev. [Text] [*LD2807024188 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 26 Jul 88*]

Bonds Deposited in FRG

The Soviet Bank for foreign trade will deposit in West Germany the bonds of its loan worth a total of 500 million West German marks. A representative of the bank has told a Radio Moscow reporter they have been studying the reaction of the business circles to the planned move. So far, it seems the new securities have aroused a good deal of interest. The loan is to help finance this country's foreign trade. Earlier, the Soviet Union carried out a similar transaction in Switzerland, in January. The bonds, worth 100 million Swiss francs, were sold out within days. [Text] [*LD2907004988 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 28 Jul 88*]

Latin America & Caribbean

PRAVDA Reports Castro Jubilee Speech

PM2807131588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "'We Believe in Socialism'"]

[Text] Havana, 27 Jul—More than 200,000 people took part in a ceremonial meeting held in the city of Santiago de Cuba to mark a national day—National Uprising Day, celebrated on 26 July.

The meeting was addressed by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Cuban Council of State and Council of Ministers, who stressed that the process of rectifying mistakes and eliminating negative trends that has begun in the country is starting to produce the first results.

Other socialist countries, F. Castro said, are now analyzing their history, their position, and their work, and trying to overcome the difficulties facing them. Despite all its gigantic achievements, there is always something in socialism—as in any human creation—that should be subject to critical analysis. A real revolutionary can never feel fully satisfied with his work. After the Third Cuban Communist Party Congress a process of rectifying mistakes and eliminating negative trends began in the country, a process similar to those in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But the people who feel it necessary to copy everything being done in other countries are wrong.

Our revolution, F. Castro noted, was a creative act; it has developed in accordance with its own laws while remaining loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It has made its own contribution to socialist building.

We firmly believe in socialism, the Cuban leader emphasized, because socialism has transformed our country and our life and because socialism has made us masters of our own country. We believe in socialism and consequently must be extremely careful in our interpretation and application of theory, and circumspect in our every step.

We wish other socialist countries success in overcoming the difficulties facing them and are confident that they will be victorious, F. Castro said. Enormous achievements have been made by the Soviet people. They accomplished the October Revolution; withstood opposition from world capitalist reaction; defended socialism in the struggle against fascism, at the cost of 20 million lives; were able to restore their war-devastated country; and have achieved parity in nuclear weapons. And the imperialists who are seizing on to the self-criticism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will not be able to discredit all that has been achieved by socialism or belittle its services to history.

F. Castro continued: Our relations with the Soviet leadership are better now than they have ever been. We have an excellent understanding of one another and speak our minds clearly and frankly.

The Cuban leader noted the exceptional role played by the Cuban Communist Party as the political vanguard in socialist building. He stressed that in the process of rectifying mistakes the party is becoming stronger and strengthening its ties with the masses.

Touching on the subject of the talks on a peace settlement in southwest Africa, F. Castro noted that the foundations have now been laid for continuing progress along the path to a just, honest, worthy solution that will guarantee Angolan security and Namibian independence. On the basis of such a comprehensive solution Cuba and Angola are prepared to begin the phased, complete withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist contingent from Angola.

Nesterenko Heads CPSU Delegation to Guyana

PM2807151988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation consisting of S.M. Nesterenko, second secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee (delegation leader), and D.D. Muravyev, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee, has left Moscow for Georgetown to participate in the work of the 23d Congress of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana.

Political & Social

CPSU Central Committee Holds Plenum 29 Jul

Gorbachev Addresses Session

LD2907063888 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) opened here today. The item "On Practical Work To Implement the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU" is under consideration.

A report is being delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

'Sources' Expect Changes

OW2907080588 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 29 (XINHUA)—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee today started a plenary session to discuss measures to carry out the resolutions on reform adopted by a party conference a month ago.

The 19th party conference, held from June 28 to July 1, passed a package of seven resolutions designed to advance the country's perestroyka (restructuring) drive. The most important resolution was on reform of the Soviet political structure.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said Wednesday that the plenum will also discuss how to speed up consumer goods production to meet the people's demands.

Well-informed Soviet sources said personnel changes will be made in the Central Committee at its plenum, the third this year.

Resolutions Adopted

LD2907163688 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—The CPSU Central Committee held another plenum here today.

It considered practical work to realize the decisions of the 19th national party conference. A report on the issue was made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The participants in the plenum had been given a possibility to acquaint themselves in advance with the draft documents prepared by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee proceeding from the directives of the 19th party conference.

A debate then took place, in which 17 people took part. Closing remarks at the plenum were made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum passed a resolution on the issue discussed, which will be published in the press.

The plenum also passed resolutions headlined "On Reviews and Elections in Party Organizations" and "On Guidelines for Reorganizing the Party Apparatus", which will be published in the press.

The plenum accepted a proposal by the Central Committee Political Bureau for forming a commission of the CPSU Central Committee under the chairmanship of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to prepare proposals for realizing the decisions of the 19th national party conference.

With this the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee ended its work.

Politburo Discusses Plenum, Various Issues

LD2807203588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at its meeting on 28 July, considered questions connected with the holding of the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The meeting discussed proposals sent to central and local bodies from public organizations, labor collectives, and the working people on improving the procedure for conferring USSR state awards. It was noted that the existing practice of conferring awards does not fit in with the process of democratization, is a poor incentive for the development of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of citizens, and has lowered the prestige of the state award.

The decision of the CPSU Central Committee adopted on this subject stresses that state awards should be conferred for major achievements in solving the tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and for the personal contribution of the recipient to this cause. The awards need to be conferred with reliance on public opinion and be done openly [glasno], in accordance with the principle of social justice and mainly at the initiative of labor collectives.

It is deemed expedient in the future not to practice the mass conferment of awards on the basis of the results of 5-year plans or on other occasions; the conferment of awards on citizens in connection with anniversaries in the period of their labor activities; or the conferment of awards on republics, krays, oblasts, okrugs, towns, and

other populated localities. It is planned to make alterations to the statutes on orders, medals, and honorary titles of the USSR in accordance with the tasks of restructuring all aspects of public life.

The meeting supported proposals by the USSR Council of Ministers on improving the general scheme for managing the country's fishing industry. It is intended to transform the union-republican ministry of the fishing industry of the USSR into an all-union ministry, concentrating its efforts and resources on the development of maritime and oceanic fisheries. It is planned to focus fish-breeding and fishing in inland waters under the authority of the agro-industrial bodies of union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts.

Sharing and supporting proposals from the public on organizing medical rehabilitation and improved treatment for servicemen who have been wounded or lost their health while worthily and courageously performing their internationalist duty in Afghanistan, the Central Committee Politburo decided to change the designated function of the Rus Sanatorium of the CPSU Central Committee's administration of affairs in the Moscow area and to set up there a rehabilitation center for internationalist servicemen.

It was noted that one of the rest homes of the administration of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers is being handed over for the treatment of disabled children.

Local party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs and health care bodies were recommended to seek out additional opportunities to step up treatment and rehabilitation assistance to internationalist servicemen and to other categories of working people in need of this.

The Politburo examined and approved the results of the conversation between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nakasone, deputy of the Japanese parliament and former Japanese prime minister, who was in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR parliamentary group.

The usefulness of the substantive exchange of opinions that took place on the main tendencies in the development of the world situation was noted, as was the discussion of issues of Soviet-Japanese relations, which was conducted with both sides striving to break the deadlock on these and provide a stimulus for normal development. The statement of the thesis that development of Soviet- Japanese relations corresponds to the interests of both countries and would be a contribution to the world process and to improving the situation in the Asian and Pacific region is of great significance. Confidence was expressed that the specific steps mentioned in the course of the conversation—sending a Soviet parliamentary delegation and a visit by Comrade Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, to Japan at the end of this year, as well as confirming the possibility in principle of a future exchange of visits at summit level—will help give an impetus to bilateral relations and make them progressive in nature.

The Politburo approved the results of the meeting Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had, and the conversations Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and other Soviet leaders had, with Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and the members of the delegation accompanying them. It was stressed that the Soviet Union attributes a great deal of importance to relations with Ethiopia and expresses solidarity with the efforts of the Ethopian people to overcome the difficulties of the current crucial stage in the development of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

The mutual aspiration of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia to deepen political interaction and to seek new and more effective forms and methods of economic cooperation was noted with satisfaction. The Soviet Union's principled position in support of Ethiopia's unity and territorial integrity, a just political solution of the Eritrean problem, and the establishment of a situation of peace and neighborly relations in the Horn of Africa was confirmed.

A number of other issues of domestic and foreign policy were also examined at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on Rallies

PM2807155488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Procedure for the Organization and Conduct of Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations in the USSR"]

[Text] The USSR Constitution, in accordance with the people's interests and with a view to strengthening and developing the socialist system, guarantees USSR citizens freedom of meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations. The exercise of these political freedoms is ensured by making available to working people and their organizations public buildings, streets, squares, and other sites.

With a view to regulating the procedure for the organization and conduct of meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. An application to hold a meeting, rally, street march, or demonstration is to be submitted to the ispolkom of the appropriate local soviet of people's deputies.

An application to hold a meeting, rally, street march, or demonstration may be made by authorized representatives, aged 18 or over, of the labor collectives of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, organs of cooperative or other public organizations, organs of voluntary public activity, and individual groups of citizens.

2. An application to hold a meeting, rally, street march, or demonstration must be submitted in writing not less than 10 days before the planned date of holding it. The application must indicate the purpose, the form and place of holding the event or the route to be followed, the times of starting and ending, the proposed number of participants, the surnames, first names, and patronymics of the authorized representatives (organizers), their places of residence and work (study), and the date of submission of the application.

3. The soviet ispolkom is to consider the application and inform the authorized representatives (organizers) of the decision made not less than 5 days before the time indicated in the application for holding the event. The ispolkom has the right, if necessary, to offer those making the application a different time and place for holding the event. The decision may be subject to an appeal to a higher executive and administrative organ in accordance with the procedure laid down by existing legislation.

The soviet ispolkom must provide the necessary conditions for holding the meeting, rally, street march, or demonstration.

4. Meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations must be held in accordance with the purposes indicated in the application, and also at the time indicated and the place specified.

In the course of the holding of meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations the authorized representatives (organizers) and also other participants must comply with Soviet laws and public order. It is prohibited for participants to carry weapons or specially prepared or adapted objects capable of being used against people's life and health or inflicting material damage on state and public organizations and citizens.

5. State and public organizations, officials, and also citizens have no right to hinder meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations taking place in compliance with the established procedures.

6. The soviet ispolkom may prohibit a meeting, rally, street march, or demonstration if its purpose is contrary to the USSR Constitution or the constitutions of union and autonomous republics or is a threat to public order and the safety of citizens.

7. Meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations must be stopped at the request of representatives of organs of power if an application has not been submitted or there has been a decision to ban the event, or in the event of violation of the procedure for holding the event laid down in Article 4 of the present decree, the presence of danger to citizens' life and health, or the violation of public order.

8. Persons violating the procedure laid down for the organization and conduct of meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations are held responsible in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and the union republics.

Material damage occasioned during the holding of meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations by their participants to the state, cooperative or other public organizations, or citizens, must be made good in accordance with the procedure laid down by law.

9. Union and autonomous republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums and kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, and city soviets of people's deputies may make additional regulations governing the procedure for holding meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations in light of local conditions, on the basis of the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics, and in accordance with the requirements of the present decree.

The procedure for the organization and conduct of meetings and rallies laid down by the present decree does not apply to meetings and rallies of labor collectives and public organizations held in accordance with legislation and with their statutes and regulations.

A. Gromyko,

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

T. Menteshashvili,

Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1988.

Foreign Ministry Conference Reviewed 28 Jul

PM2807140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Diplomacy of New Thinking"]

[Text] The scientific-practical conference "The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference: Foreign Policy and Diplomacy" has ended its work in the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The following spoke during the debate on the report by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister: G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; A.I. Vlasov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister; Academician R.Z. Sagdeyev; A.S. Kapto, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central

Committee department; V.A. Kryuchkov, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB; K.N. Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; V.I. Dolgov, secretary of the USSR Foreign Ministry Party Committee; I.D. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission; A.O. Chubaryan, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev; Ye.P. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; S.V. Chervonenko, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries Presidium; G.A. Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace; and V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board.

There were discussions in sections, in which union republic foreign ministers, leaders and staffers of USSR Foreign Ministry subdivisions, USSR ambassadors and permanent representatives to international organizations, professors and lecturers from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and the Diplomatic Academy, representatives of public organizations and scientific institutions, cultural figures, and journalists took part.

Section leaders USSR Deputy Foreign Ministers Yu.M. Vorontsov, A.G. Kovalev, I.P. Aboimov, A.L. Adamishin, L.F. Ilichev, V.G. Komplektov, V.F. Petrovskiy, and B.N. Chaplin reported on the results of their work. Section reports were delivered by more than 300 people, in other words approximately one-third of conference participants, including many young diplomats and scientists. An uninhibited conversation abounding with sharp critical assessments took place. Many proposals by conference participants were distinguished by an innovative approach and a sense of personal responsibility for the common cause.

The discussion in the "Priorities of USSR Foreign Policy" section covered the political philosophy and applied diplomacy aspects of E.A. Shevardnadze's report. Emphasis was placed on the need to fully implement the principle of peaceful coexistence as the supreme universal principle of international relations and, in this context, to make amendments to our foreign policy priorities, maybe even including amendments of the USSR Constitution. There was an examination of USSR foreign policy's priorities in the American, European, Asian-Pacific, and other spheres. Certain priority aspects of all-embracing security, the ecological threat, and the channeling of all foreign policy means toward solving the tasks of restructuring were examined in detail from the angle of the Soviet Union's national interests. A contribution to the discussion was made in particular by V.V. Zhurkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute; Political Observers V.S. Zorin and A.Ye. Bovin; and R.G. Bogdanov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute.

Taking part in the work of the "Development and Strengthening of the USSR's Relations With Socialist Countries" section were M.L. Titarenko, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute; Ye.I. Osadchuk, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations; L.S. Yagodovskiy, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics of the World Socialist System Institute; and S.I. Shvetsova, deputy chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries Presidium. The participants in the debate focused their attention on questions concerning the processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the renewal and improvement of socialism in other socialist countries. There was a detailed exchange of opinions on the present state, problems, and prospects for further development of the USSR's political, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural ties with socialist countries and cooperation within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA frameworks.

The "Military-Political Aspects of Security" section discussed key questions of security and disarmament. Speeches touched upon some 150 questions concerning nuclear disarmament, military doctrines, reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, naval armaments, and regional security problems, primarily in Europe and the Asian-Pacific region. Section participants expressed specific opinions and proposals to advance our position in this sphere. Taking part in the section's work were A.A. Kokoshkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Admiral N.N. Amelko; D.M. Proektor, leading research worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute; and A.G. Arbatov, chief of a USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute department.

Participants in the "International Economic Security" section included N.G. Belov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics; V.Ye. Galanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry; and Doctor of Historical Sciences I.V. Bestuzhev-Lada. There was a comprehensive examination of the USSR's contemporary economic position, the course of restructuring of foreign economic ties, the forms and methods for involving the Soviet economy in the world economy, and the ways to provide political support for the solution of this task.

The "Legal, Humanitarian, and Consular Aspects of International Security" section focused attention on questions of the concept of the law-based state and the elaboration and improvement of legislation in the humanitarian sphere. Interesting reports were delivered by, among others, V.S. Vereshchetin, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, and M.K. Mamardashvili, chief scientific associate of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy Institute. There was talk of the persistent need to fully open Soviet society to the outside world. Opinions were expressed as regards the reform of the constitutional and

legal mechanisms of socialist democracy, the bringing of Soviet legislation fully into line with the USSR's international obligations, and ways to implement the principle of the primacy of international law in the world community. A number of specific proposals were submitted on stepping up international cooperation in the human rights sphere and raising the level of participation by Soviet scientific and creative intelligentsia in humanitarian and cultural cooperation. It was proposed to step up consular support for growing ties and exchanges abroad.

Many interesting ideas, assessments, proposals, and critical remarks were expressed in the "Policy Toward Developing Countries and Settlement of Regional Conflicts" section. An active part in the debate was played by Diplomatic Academy Rector O.G. Peresypkin; A.M. Vasilyev, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute; Major General K.M. Tsagolov; and Prof G.I. Mirskiy. It was repeatedly emphasized that the "Third World," which is extremely diverse in its socioeconomic and political composition, is at a complex and even contradictory stage of its development today. It was noted that our science and diplomacy failed to fully forecast many of the current processes. There was a comprehensive examination of the question of socialist orientation in connection with the concept of freedom of choice. The approach toward ties with "Third World" countries that is firmly established in our country was subjected to critical analysis. The ways and prospects for unblocking conflicts in different parts of the world were analyzed. The debate participants noted the growing role played by the Nonaligned Movement.

The "Diplomacy, International Institutional and Mechanisms: Their Role in Ensuring All-Embracing Security" section examined diplomacy in its different forms: bilateral and multilateral, crisis-management and preventive, secret and public, professional and people's. Those who spoke included Academicians R.Z. Sagdeyev and S.L. Tikhvinskiy; An.A. Gromyko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Professors Yu.A. Zamoshkin, V.G. Sirotkin, and I.P. Blishchenko; and Political Observer V.A. Tsvetov. Much attention was paid to the topic of new political thinking. Much was said in this context about the identification and elimination of "blank spots" in history and the extension of glasnost to the foreign policy sphere. Many speakers urgently raised the question of the need to give scientists broad access to USSR Foreign Ministry archives. The direct link between the development of glasnost and our country's image abroad was pointed out. The scientists who spoke gave specific examples of the damage caused to our international contacts by the remnants of secrecy and supersecrecy. There was an innovative discussion of the theory and practice of conducting talks. The importance of our turn toward the United Nations was noted. It was remarked that the experience of international organizations, especially their organizational and procedural experience, could be utilized in the process of democratization of political life in our country. The role of the human factor in diplomacy and questions concerning the training of future diplomats were discussed in both general and specific terms. In particular, it was proposed to abolish the restrictions on admission of women to the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and the Diplomatic Academy. There was a businesslike discussion of collaboration between practical diplomacy and the mass media. Emphasis was placed on the importance of the public's even more active participation in international affairs.

The sessions of the "Economic, Social, Material, and Technical Backing for the Soviet Diplomatic Service" section emphasized the need to create a new-style apparatus equipped with modern information technology. Without this, it will be difficult to ensure diplomatic parity from the viewpoint of ensuring equal conditions for situation analysis and decisionmaking. The solution of the set task will be helped by the creation of an integrated automatic information system. There was discussion on questions concerning working conditions and the social infrastructure in the USSR Foreign Ministry. Tasks of improving the planning and construction of premises for Soviet missions abroad and questions of the building of foreign countries' embassies in the USSR were examined. Taking part in the section discussion were V.K. Levin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Ye.N. Filinov, acting director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Information Science Problems Institute; O.L. Smirnov, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Applied Automatic Systems; V.I. Drakin, director of the "Voskhod" Scientific Research Institute; and G.Z. Lazarev, chief of the "Mosproyekt-2" Institute.

In his speech, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.M. Nikiforov touched upon personnel aspects of the Soviet diplomatic service's activity. Lenin's principle of the selection, placement, and education of cadres exclusively according to their professional, political, and moral qualities, he said, is being revived within the USSR Foreign Ministry. The conference has forced us to look into the future and give some thought to those who will come to replace us. Evidently, there will be a growing need for specialists in the sphere of disarmament, the economy, and all other aspects of security, international law experts, and specialists in multilateral diplomacy. The task of training highly skilled experts on socialist countries remains topical. The conference materials are in fact a long-term social order for graduates from the Moscow State Institute for International Relations and the Diplomatic Academy.

In his closing speech, E.A. Shevardnadze pointed out the direct link between the debate which took place, its nature and content, and the 19th conference.

Foreign policy and diplomacy, he said, were subjected to critical analysis in light of the party conference directives, and the most promising means and methods for their restructuring were defined.

The minister dwelt in detail on the problem of the link between science and diplomacy and foreign policy. A large proportion of the closing speech was devoted to questions of diplomatic skills and the improvement of the negotiating mechanism. Special attention was given to the enhancement of the human factor's role in diplomacy.

Some achievements of foreign policy in the last few years, the minister said, are the direct result of domestic restructuring in the country, they are not isolated from the processes of democratization and glasnost that are typical of it but were directly stimulated by them.

E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized that the conference accumulated a multiplicity of promising ideas and suggestions. They must be dealt with in an intelligent and sensible fashion.

The main materials of the debate which took place will be published in VESTNIK MID SSSR and the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN.

Armenia's Arutyunyan Speaks on Nagorno-Karabakh
NC2807143388 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Speech by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, as you know, on 18 July the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the decisions adopted by the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. The session's decision was (?reported on) in the speech by First Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the Supreme Soviet session. The speech, which was of great significance, called (?for the help and efforts of) the Armenian, Azerbaijani, and all other peoples.

We should display the suitable political [word indistinct]. (?This was a noteworthy point) in the speech and [word indistinct] of Gorbachev (?and answers questions on how to tackle) the complicated party, racial, and political problems as well as the development of our peoples.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision calls on all parties concerned to exert a detailed and collective (?effort) to (?logically) evaluate the difficult situation created in the two republics, and dictates that (?profound steps) be taken to stop the unwanted [word indistinct] created by the incidents.

The Presidium's decision was accepted on a very wide democratic (?basis) by the representatives of all the fraternal republics (?who attended). The Presidium session was preceded by extensive preparations in which our republic's leaders and deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet (?participated). All-encompassing (?discussions) were held on the problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] (?with party) and economic officials.

During the Presidium session [word indistinct], a comprehensive study was carried out of all the possible ways of solving the NKAO problem. At the Presidium session the views of the Armenian people were expressed by our republic's representatives, who reported fully on the [word indistinct] of the issue and on its great significance for our people. (?Various) proposals were propounded on how to solve the NKAO problem.

Considering it impossible to alter the ethnic territorial borders of the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's on the basis of the constitution, the Supreme Soviet accepted, (?within a realistic framework), the most (?suitable) decision which will meet the interests of both republics and peoples, as well as the interests of all the Soviet peoples.

As was correctly pointed out during the session, [words indistinct] and any other decision (?would) make the already tense situation in the region worse, seriously harm interethnic relations, (?and lead) to the further exacerbation of the situation, emotions, and [words indistinct].

In the Presidium's decision and Mikhail Gorbachev's speech, (?reference) is made to the (?fundamental) assessment of the situation in the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's and to ways to (?restore order) [words indistinct]. The decision points to ways of creating good conditions in the NKAO for future economic and cultural development, for the improvement of the workers' welfare, and for the strengthening of the socialist (?system), in the interests of genuine friendship and cooperation between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. The decision considers that it is necessary to [words indistinct] our republic's ties with the NKAO and the broadening of (?interethnic relations). It is very important that the Presidium decisively (?pointed) to the (?importance of cooperation) on the NKAO by its representative who, together with the representatives of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's, should exert efforts to ensure the (?full) implementation of the decisions adopted. As you already know, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have sent a representative on the NKAO [word indistinct], Comrade Volskiy, who is also a CPSU Central Committee member, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and [words indistinct]. His duty is to arrange and coordinate the operations of the Azerbaijani and Armenian party, soviet, and economic bodies toward that end. The Central Committees of the Armenian and the Azerbaijan Communist Parties, the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidiums, and their Councils of Ministers, as well as the competent party [words indistinct],

have been given the task of extending comprehensive assistance to ensure that the mission of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet representative is successful.

In conclusion, it is very important that the Presidium session favored handing over the study of the issue to a special committee appointed to examine ethnic affairs and to prepare proposals which will be presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet for further examination. Thus, for the first time, we are being given a great opportunity to have (?all-encompassing) participation in the solution of vital issues pertaining to the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the NKAO. From now on, we will continuously develop and strengthen, in all ways, our socioeconomic, cultural, and vital ties with the NKAO.

Comrades, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that (?references) were made in all speeches at the session, and especially in Comrade Gorbachev's speech, (?to the fact that) we are living in a multi-national socialist country and that we are strongly bound (?by historic) [words indistinct] to the improvement and development of ethnic relations, which are in the interests of all the country's nations and peoples, (?by not harming) our (area's existence) and our peoples' (?strong) friendship.

However, let us be frank until the end and (?briefly) assess the situation created in the [words indistinct]. I think that I will not be (?exaggerating) if I say that the recent meetings and demonstrations here by certain irresponsible people and their politically harmful appeals and acts have absolutely (?nothing to do with) [word indistinct], the process of democratization, or the Karabakh problems. Appeals (?with a facade of democratization) [words indistinct] on the workers' collectives and on the state's bodies. As for the strikes, they inflicted serious moral harm on the economic [word indistinct]. The (?halting) of the execution of contractual obligations seriously harmed the operations of a large number of (?our) industries, and led to [word indistinct] dissatisfaction expressed toward our republic.

Not only did all these factors not (?facilitate) the solution of the NKAO problem, but they (?harmed) the good (?reputation) of our zealous and work-loving people. (?Certain) irresponsible individuals continue to try to carry out (?their obstructionism) and stir up emotions. For this reason, the situation in the republic is still tense. Recently in Yerevan and other cities, the demonstrations and meetings exceeded the bounds of order and threatened (?citizens). Harmful and [word indistinct] dangerous, disorderly, and (?provocative) appeals can be heard. Recently, [words indistinct], and in an impermissible way, they are opposing the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. (?By distorting) the meaning of the decision, these individuals, who [words indistinct], (?are harming) our moral values. Lately the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's other leading bodies have received numerous letters from labor and war veterans, workers in (?important) organizations, farmers' kolkhozes, and [word indistinct] representatives. All of them condemn the anti-constitutional and anti-democratic activities of these individuals and say they must be called upon to answer for their acts. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, by studying the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, instructed the party ispolkoms and oblispolkoms, the (?regional) party organizations, and the state and economic bodies to carry out a deep and comprehensive study of the situation that has been created in the (?popular-economic) branches, to (?revive) the normal working rhythm and strengthen the citizens' internationalist and patriotic (?feelings).

The republic's workers are concerned over the serious shortcomings in economic and socialist development, existing ecological problems, the big [word indistinct] in the policy of cadres, and the (?obstruction) of the socialist [word indistinct] (?process).

In short, comrades, we have difficult problems in front of us. In order to solve them, we need the solidarity of the healthy forces of our people and the efforts of all the workers' collectives. The Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee is confident that the republic's Communists and all the workers will [words indistinct] (?to emerge) from the difficult days, and will do everything they can to bring the republic out of the situation that has been created and help it to move in the direction of ensuring its future socioeconomic and [word indistinct] development. We want to express confidence that our workers and all our people will, (?from now on), correctly assess the situation, display political self-consciousness and (?state) alertness, and decisively reject [words indistinct] and all those who obstruct the republic's development and (?harm) the sacred friendship between [words indistinct], our people, and the peoples of the USSR.

'Karabakh Committee' Activities Condemned

LD2807152988 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Yerevan July 28 TASS—By TASS special correspondents: Putting in a nutshell the impression of the general mood among the inhabitants of Yerevan today, it can be said that this is the wish to make good for the lag in industrial output resulting from the long strikes, the growing distrust in the urgings of instigators from the "Karabakh" committee, who are trying to gamble on the national sentiments of people. Yet not everybody has so far realised the meaning and significance of the decision passed by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is permeated with concern for the good of both the Armenian and Azerbajanian peoples, the desire to strengthen the friendship of the Soviet peoples.

The "Karabakh" committee, which was officially disbanded in March this year, continues influencing the minds of people. As is pointed out in the decision of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, such a situation became possible as a result of the inadmissibly passive stance and unprincipled attitude to the instigatory activities of the "Karabakh" committee. The lack of vigour in the political work of the party and public activists, the mass media has brought about a situation when a large part of Armenians have now a distorted idea of the true national interests, while the sentiments of civic responsibility have been more often than not suppressed by emotions, hence the ill-considered actions.

Yet this was not the case everywhere. A quite different situation emerged where the party, soviet and public bodies did not wait for instructions from the senior authorities and immediately began repelling the attempts at misleading people.

Thus, for example, representatives of "Karabakh" frequented daily the Echmiadzin district, which lies at a distance of only 17 kilometres from Yerevan, urging the population to lay down tools and join in a "general strike". Far from all people responded to that call, and those, who did it, walked out for one day. Members of the party district committee and the executive committee of the soviets, activists have always been in the midst of people they explained the essence of the slogans and warned about the results of the strikes. This made it possible to reduce the tensions and to exercise permanent control over the situation.

Yet not all the Communists of the district rose to the occasion on the difficult days. The senior officials of plants and of primary party organizations, who yielded, in breach of the party discipline, to the provocations of the so-called "Karabakh" committee, were penalized by the party bodies. The violators of public order were made administratively and criminally responsible, many had to pay fines.

The vigorous stand taken by the party workers of Echmiadzin is, certainly, no exception in the republic. This work has yielded its first results.

Nagorno-Karabakh Output Up as Workers Return

LD2807204188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] All of us continue to be disturbed by the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. What is happening there and how? An hour ago we contacted our special correspondent Vladimir Plotnikov:

[Plotnikov] A working week, the first after the long strike, is under way at enterprises in Stepanakert. More and more people are going to work, and the volume of output is growing. The unloading of freignt cars for the electrical enginering works, the furniture factory, the obuvsnabsbyt, and other enterprises has begun at the railway station. However, a great many cars remain idle. The building sites have come to life, and the team of Builtind Directorate 91 is working at full strength. It is concentrating its main effort on projects due for commissioning, of which there are twelve. Despite the lagging behind, the construction workers are fully determined to put them into operation at the scheduled time. To do so they are prepared to work around the clock and on their days off. [passage omitted]

Opinions are voiced which are at times contradictory, but it is thought that frankness will help to find the ways toward mutual understanding and the restoration of the shaken friendship between the two neighboring fraternal peoples. The number-one condition: The basis of this friendship can only be practical joint work, and not demagogy and strikes. The working people of Nagorno-Karabakh are coming to this conclusion in a more and more determined way.

Demirchyan Rule in Armenia Deplored

PM2807150188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by own special correspondent G. Melikyants: "Looking Back and Understanding, That Is What the Present-Day Situation in Armenia Requires"]

[Text] Yerevan—There is perhaps no more sensitive topic in each Soviet family than Nagorno-Karabakh, Sumgait, Armenia, Azerbaijan....

How did it happen that embraces and oaths of loyalty have been replaced by mutual recriminations? The sources of this still have to be plumbed. It is clear, however, that they must be sought not in the people but in individuals and their actions.

The Armenian's reaction to the appeal from Stepanakert is, albeit emotional, an understandable one. One thing is not understandable, however: Speeches were sometimes made on public squares, against which the very being of Soviet people, of whatever nationality they might be, could not but revolt. Even if briefly, those speeches penetrated people's minds, caused them to interrupt their work, and troubled their spirits. And is far as young people were concerned, they were positively dangerous—let us recall the incident at the airport. People say there had never been anything like it. But it did happen!

I also heard people say that all this is a response to inaccurate information, to events that occurred in other regions of Azerbaijan. Unfortunately, that has happened too. Information, however, has improved, while I am in no doubt that in Azerbaijan every such incident will receive its own assessment. But was it possible to so lose faith?

The point is that faith in the irreversability of changes, in the possibility of innovation winning through, was indeed undermined in Armenia. Yes, the events of recent months in the republic do date back to a well-known session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Soviet. But their real beginnings are to be found in the preceding years. Everything that has been said on this score is true. There is no smoke without fire, but the converse also applies: A fire can flare up from ashes that have been long smoldering, as it were.

I have not been in Yerevan for 4 years, not since the time when the question of implementing the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) decisions in the Armenian Republic party organisation was being prepared at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. I heard and read at the time that "special attention must be paid to constantly improving the style of party leadership...."; "an irreversible break with subjectivist, voluntarist decisionmaking...has been made"; "the atmosphere of total license has been eradicated...."; "the desire to make internationalism not only an attribute of political and ideological consciousness but to seek to make it a psychological feature of everyone is now characteristic of international education...." What now remains of those fine-sounding words?

So as not to weary the reader I will only cite facts from the last few months of K. Demirchyan's term as first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Does one need to say how much influence a central committee first secretary exerts over the entire life of the republic—its party organization, soviets, and leading cadres? Demirchyan started in November 1974 with promises of improving the economy, doing away with corruption, giving pride of place to people, and so forth. People believed him.

Years passed. Let us take negative phenomena, as they are called. The following phrase cropped up in report after report: "An atmosphere of intolerance toward phenomena alien to socialist society such as bribery, parasitism, speculation, embezzlement, and abuse of official office has not yet been eradicated everywhere." Debt incurred through shortfalls and embezzlement alone doubled from 1980 to the present day! Some 340,000 able-bodied people in the republic are without jobs! And the bribes! It is not difficult to lose faith when you live in such an atmosphere, is it?

Armenia is a small republic. Many people there have a detailed knowledge of one another, so to speak. News spreads very quickly. And—let us add—with commentary appended. If a compromised leader is merely shifted to another post and criminal proceedings are stopped, everyone talks about it. Is disillusionment then long in coming?

I will relate a brief anecdote concerning K. Oganesyan. He was first secretary of Artashatskiy Rayon. The rayon was slowly but surely going downhill. Oganesyan was warned of his personal responsibility, punished by a severe reprimand, and this went on for 8 years! Finally, he was relieved of his post for, among other things, inept leadership of agriculture. And he was promoted to deputy chairman of the gosagroprom. People in the republic shrugged their shoulders: Well, he's got to be given a job; but not the very job where he has demonstrated ineptitude! His machinations involving an apartment in Yerevan were still being investigated at the time. It is unpleasant to retell all this. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Commission informed the Central Committee Bureau and first secretary about the story. The response was silence. And yet this was after the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, where K. Demirchyan had listened to bitter criticism. But to no effect, it did not make him reconsider.

Everyone in Yerevan knew how Kh. Mandalyan, first secretary of the Leninskiy Raykom at the time, had had his office there decorated. A debt of R257,000 was chalked up at the rayon maintenance and construction administration for decoration work carried out on the raykom building. Mandalyan was nevertheless confirmed as chief of the Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department. During 3 years of activity in that post he "promoted" more than 10 workers from his "own region" into the Central Committee apparatus. Everyone kept mum. Mandalyan enjoyed the first secretary's confidence. It's a pity that Demirchyan did not consider how this affected people's confidence in him.

That is how the atmosphere of total license "was eradicated." Meanwhile the number of complaints made to the Central Committee about party leaders, rayispolkom chairmen, and other leading workers was growing all the time. Of course, no two complaints are the same; the trouble was that virtually all of them were borne out! In 1985 there were 194 complaints received against 34 raykom first secretaries, and in the first half of 1987 alone 217 complaints received against 42 secretaries! These figures were communicated by Yu. Kochetkov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committe, with a sense of bitterness, to the Central Committee plenum discussing the results of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum. But Demirchyan just ignored it. He knew that many people in Armenia imitated his style, notable, among other things, for its undisguised disdain for criticism.

To continue on the subject of confidence and respect. Writers and artistic figures have played an active part in present-day events. Not all of them rose to the occasion. But surely it is not impossible to try to make them change their mind and direct their energy to the good of the cause? But who will do this? The Central Committe Culture Department? It does not have a single professional writer, musician, or art critic in its ranks. Not a single staffer there has worked in the Ministry of Culture, the State Committee for Cinematography, or the artistic unions. Contact with the creative intelligentsia has been reduced to the minimum, while foreign trips have been

exploited to the maximum. Department chief N. Yesayan has in just over a year not visited a single rayon in the republic once, while making three overseas trips, including one to the United States as head of a...delegation comprising three pipers and two singers. Or would talented artists not perform successfully without such an eminent leader?

The extent to which the culture department's standing has fallen among the creative intelligentsia was also shown by a recent party meeting at the Armenian Union of Composers. The well-known composer Aleksandr Arutyunyan asked how long the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee would appoint conductors of the State Symphony Orchestra without consulting specialists—there have been four changes of conductor there in just over a year. A. Dzhazoyan, section chief at the culture department and an economist by training, cut him short: "How dare you criticize the Central Committee?"

That is how cadres are selected and "brought up." On the other hand, they knew how to show unwelcome people the door. S. Khachatryan, chairman of the party control commission, caused Demirchyan quite a lot of trouble. At the republic Communist Party Central Committee Plenum last December he again delivered sharp, well-justified criticism: You apparently do not want or are incapable of listening, but at least watch your step. But Demirchyan acted in his customary way: He proposed that this conscientious, experienced party worker who had never been sick should retire on pension. Khachatryan refused to make such a request and was relieved of his duties "on grounds of age."

The facts cited here have not yet been mentioned in the press. But how many others have been! Since the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum Armenia has figured in major critical articles in the central newspapers more than 40 times. But not a single one of them has been examined! The first secretary took no interest in the PRAVDA article about the persecution of a young correspondent of the republic press organized by...staffers of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

No, they did not think about omissions—the following phrase from a 1984 CPSU Central Committee resolution was used as a shield: "There is a healthy moral and political atmosphere in the republic."

In 1986 the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee received a document from the CPSU Central Committee revealing serious shortcomings in ideological and organizational work in the republic. But neither the department chiefs nor the bulk of the members of the Central Committee were familiarized with it. Demirchyan simply shelved it. And even when harsh criticism was made at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, Demirchyan made out that things could not be better. And the chorus around him nodded their heads in agreement: Restructuring had begun in the republic long before April 1985.

And finally, the "successes" in international education. The February events highlighted them with frightening clarity. Then began the strange withdrawal by the leader of the republic Communist Party from the management of events. At long conferences Demirchyan would deliver prolix speeches, which were followed up by no action whatsoever. Culprits were sought everywhere except among those actually seeking the culprits. The press, which "undermined leaders' authority," came in for particular abuse. And the most sensitive topics—corruption, cases of social injustice, favoritism, the things that most offended people—were touched on least of all at these conferences. Did they hope thereby to divert attention from these problems? And what was the upshot?

The upshot was that restructuring was artificially slowed down in Armenia. There is no sluggishness or inertia here; bribery, that's to be found somewhere in Uzbekistan; national conflicts, you get that in Kazakhstan.... But it turned out that they all exist right here, back home. And today many people are still held back by something, are prevented from getting to grips with them.

What? Who? Each individual case has to be investigated if people are to have their faith restored—their faith in restructuring and their faith that renewal in Armenia is no longer at a standstill.

It is true that one learns from one's mistakes. But how costly that lesson can be! The Armenian Central Committee has elected a new first secretary—S. Arutyunyan. He has a heavy legacy to bear. The leadership will only be able to meet the task if it has the support of the whole population of the republic.

Bank Official on Armenia's Financial Problems

LD2807210588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] [Presenter] And now over to our correspondent in Yerevan, Karen Khumaryan:

[Khumaryan] The situation is complicated not only by the fact that for many months now the republic has been very preoccupied with the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. We have a lot of problems of our own.

As the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee stressed in his address on Armenian television yesterday, the serious shortcomings and oversights in social development, the strained ecological situation, major mistakes in cadre policies, and violations of the principles of social justice are arousing the anxiety of the republic's working people.

I often visit enterprises and have noticed that of late more and more hold-ups are taking place in the paying out of wages to the workers. Why is this taking place, and whose fault is it? I addressed this question to (Isaak Abassovich Isaakyan), head of the Armenian Republican Office of the USSR State Bank.

[Begin (Isaakyan) recording] I have to admit that we have been having this problem—complications with the money circulation and with the fulfilment of the cash plan. Well, the republic is taking very vigorous measures. As long ago as last year the party's Central Committee set up a special commission that every week, under the direction of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Sarkisyan, examines the state of the money circulation and adopts prompt measures to settle it. This, of course, gives certain positive results. But unfortunately there are many fundamental reasons that prevent us from solving this problem today.

First is what I would call the failure to ensure that there are enough goods to cover, fully cover, the republic's trade turnover. Last year there was no fulfillment of the trade turnover. And now during the first half of this year the trade turnover has not been fulfilled. In our republic the cash plan—some 80 percent, the income part, depends on the fulfillment of the retail trade turnover.

In the republic there is no fulfillment regarding paid services to the population, which is also having an adverse effect on providing blue and white collar workers with wages in good time.

Well, this is one of the causes. But there are also other factors that make it impossible to recieve wages in good time. I would name two additional factors. One is that the enterprises themselves are not ready; they have not written out orders and records have not been drawn up. The second and I would say more important factor is that, especially with the changeover to the new system of management, to full financial autonomy and self-financing—and some 270 enterprises in the republic have been operating in these conditions since January 1—their financial state is not especially stable in connection with the fact that they have changed over with debts to the State Bank and suppliers. This is one of the causes of the hold-ups.

The banks are very vigorously helping the enterprises in these difficult cases. For instance, during the first half of the current year alone some R50 million of credits have been issued to those enterprises that were unable to pay out wages. It is in this way that we are smoothing out the system. But this favorable [lgotnyy] period in the republic is until 1 July. [sentence as heard] Now it is more complicated. The enterprises themselves need to earn money for paying out wages. [end recording]

[Khumaryan] I would add one more thing to what has been said: The strikes that have been taking place of late in Armenia have made the republic's grave financial situation even worse. Now both the Finance Ministry and the enterprises themselves are to make an all-out effort to improve the situation.

Academician Polyakov on Nationalities Conflict

AU2607165088 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
Issue No 30 25 Jul 88 p 6

[Statement by Prof Yuriy Polyakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to POGLED: "Common Sense Against Emotions"; date and place not given]

[Text] Prior to the October Revolution and over the years of foreign military intervention and civil war, in particular, problems were accumulated over the years in the Caucasian republics, and the knots of complicated mutual relations became very intricate. This is the reason why these republics are reminding us of their problems today. They suggested to us how illusory it is to think that national consensus in our country has reached its full perfection.

Let us make a short historical retrospective review of the situation: Professor Polyakov calls the 1917-20 period the era of foreign intervention and civil war.

It is was a difficult period for the peoples of the Caucasus. On the one hand, in the first months following the October Revolution, power in these remote areas of the country was seized by petty bourgeois representatives, by nationalist parties, and cliques. In Azerbaijan these were the Musavists, namely, the representatives of the reactionary party "Musavat," while in Georgia, the local Mensheviks took over the power. In Armenia, the power belonged to the so-called "Dashnakis" who were the members of the nationalist and also reactionary party of "Dashnaktsutyun"(which in Armenian means "Union"). Despite the great political diversity of these groups, they had common features and used similar methods in their political practice; namely, unrestrained nationalism, which exacerbated the national hatred and led to open hostility. The armed clashes and the bloodshed throughout those 3 years follow each other like events on a movie screen: The Armenian-Georgian conflict, the clashes between Dashnaks and Musavits. The Caucasus whetted the appetite of foreign interventionists, and the occupiers changed almost every month. The German occupation forces were replaced by Turks, after which the British came. The chief weapon in the tactics of the interventionists also remained unchanged: fanning national intolerance. In the bloody combats which were unleashed, the U.S. supreme commissioner encouraged the greed of each side in turn. Thus, in autumn 1920, during the Dashnak-Turkish war, the British financed the Dashnak army with $28 million and at the same time fanned the religious fanaticism of their enemies.

Soviet power was finally established on this territory, which was devastated by destruction, oppressed by foreign occupation, and harmed by national squabbles. In

1922 Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia became the nucleus of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, which joined the USSR in the same year. On 7 July 1923 the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast was established as an administrative unit of Azerbaijan. Since the actual essence of this decision is still valid today, let us examine the motives which prompted the the legislators in those days. Professor Yuriy Polyakov describes these motivations as a complicated but necessary compromise, composed of the following two elements:

First: As long as the overwhelming majority of the population in Karabakh is of Armenian nationality, the fact that an autonomous oblast has been established should satisfy the national feelings of these inhabitants.

Second: Since the oblast, however, is within the geographical limits of Azerbaijan, its territorial sovereignty has been satisfied.

Many of the current problems are not solely linked to the more remote historic past, and were not suddenly accumulated last February. According to Yuriy Polyakov, even a secondary factor which is related to the demographic changes in the Caucasian republics may give us abundant food for thought. While in 1939 the population of Georgia amounted to 3.5 million people, and the population of Azerbaijan reached 3.2 million people, the Armenian population amounted to 1.3 million people. At the beginning of the eighties, however, the population in Azerbaijan amounted to 6 million, while Armenia again has the lowest population—namely, 3.3 million. Simultaneously, the urbanization processes most strongly affected life in Armenia. Prior to the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, the rural population prevailed in that republic (71 percent). Today, it amounts to less than one-third. In the Nagorno-Karabakh area, however, the rural population still represents 76 percent of the total number of inhabitants.

Prof. Polyakov points out that such secondary facts actually create a favorable atmosphere for the emergence of special moods and misunderstandings, even for the flare-up of emotions. We should not pass over them in silence, but analyze and sensibly control them.

Book on Nationalities Questions Reviewed

PM2607141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Kerimov book review: "Creative Power of Internationalism"]

[Text] The book under review (Footnote) (R.A. Salikov, I.Ya. Kopylov, E.Yu. Yusupov. "National Processes in the USSR" ["Natsionalnyye Protsessy v SSSR"]. Moscow, 1987. Science Publishing House. 351 pp) covers a wide range of subjects: the Marxist-Leninist theory of nations, the history of nation building in the USSR, and the improvement of national relations under the conditions of restructuring.

The approach to the resolution of the nationalities issue in the USSR is based on the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and on concern for the economic and social progress of all the country's republics. Today it is hard to overestimate the importance of accelerating the development of a unified national economic complex. Economic intensification and the further deepening of the all-union division of labor are leading factors in the development both of the USSR as a whole and of individual republics. Improving the returns on the economic potential of each republic and strengthening the ties between them in our common interests is one of the urgent tasks of restructuring.

The authors justifiably draw attention to social justice in national relations. Violation of this justice is the cause of many deformations that sometimes take on acute forms. In a number of republics, regrettably, the sociocultural needs of people of different nationalities have not been properly satisfied. Such failings must be persistently eradicated, by asserting socialist internationalism in practice.

The questions of nation and state building in the USSR have a special place in the work. The authors note that the 70 years of experience of socialist building have shown the vitality of the USSR as the most rational form of state cooperation among peoples. At the same time, life moves on, and national and state structure cannot fail to be improved.

The book makes an in-depth analysis of the shortcomings in international education; this sometimes degenerates into campaigns timed to coincide with holidays. The book reminds us that this is not a one-shot job, but a serious political task requiring constant attention.

New First Secretary of Lenin Raykom in Armenia

NC2907052788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] A plenum of the Lenin Raykom of the Armenian Communist Party was held yesterday to discuss organizational matters. The plenum released Comrade Akopyan from his duties as first secretary of the raykom in view of his appointment as head of the Organizational Work Department of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. Comrade (Grishkin), who had been second secretary of this raykom since 1985, was elected as first secretary of the Lenin Raykom of the Armenian Communist Party. Minasbekyan, first secretary of the Yerevan Gorkom, attended and spoke at the plenum.

13 Ministries Abolished in Uzbekistan

LD2907092888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] From Tashkent we have a report: In order to improve the management of the national economy, 13 ministries have been abolished by decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR. In this connection, in the next few days some 10,000 specialists will go over to production.

It must be said that these are only the first steps being taken in Uzbekistan to cut down the excessively inflated administrative apparatus. In the near future the association of a number of oblasts and the amalgamation of many towns and rayons are expected.

Party Candidate Lists Publicized in Odessa

LD2807172188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0946 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Odessa, 28 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Georgiy Vorotnyuk reports:

Committees of a number of large party organizations in Odessa (a town in South Ukraine) have for the first time publicized, via the local press and radio, lists of candidates for the new composition of the town's leading party bodies. Discussion over candidates has started among Communists and nonparty members in the town's enterprises.

Valeriy Khmelnyuk, first secretary of the Odessa Gorkom, says: "Such an approach to forming the leading body of party organizations has emerged from the decisions of the 19th party conference". [passage omitted]

This time candidate members to party committees were submitted directly in lower team sections—party groups of production sections and shopfloor party organizations. Several candidatures for one place were discussed. The overall numbers of those submitted "from below" are two to three times more than the composition of proposed party committees. [passage omitted]

Restructuring of Social Sciences Urged

PM2807112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Social Sciences' Contribution to Restructuring. The Wealth of Theoretical Knowledge Must Serve the People"]

[Text] The 19th all-union party conference stressed the need for a profound restructuring of social sciences, ridding them of dogmatism once and for all and bringing them closer to life. The restructuring is necessary not only for the normal development of the sciences themselves. The whole of society has an interest in this, since the galvanization of the country's intellectual and spiritual potential depends on the creative efforts of the social scientists and the objectiveness and impartiality of their research. And this galvanization is an invariable precondition of the renewal of socialism.

It is necessary to heal the wounds inflicted on the social sciences by the personality cult, the bureaucratic methods of leadership, and incompetent meddling. Getting rid of the burdensome legacy of the period of stagnation—of arbitrary approaches to the formulation of research tasks and use of scholastic methods in their solution—does not come easy.

The social scientists' efforts must be channelled into elaborating a comprehensive outline of the development of our society and scientifically substantiated forecasts. The situation is favorable for this now. The party is encouraging a creative quest in the social sciences and advocating radical changes in the attitude toward them. Unfounded restrictions on the use of statistical information of a socioeconomic and political nature have been lifted and access to archive material is being facilitated. However, disregard for scientific conclusions and recommendations can still be encountered. The consequences of this are serious both for society and for science. "Unclaimed" [nevostrebovannaya] science sooner or later withers away and, as a result of this attitude to scientific knowledge, practice becomes blind and ailing. It is necessary to make bigger demands on scientists and also to trust them more.

The in-depth restructuring of the economy is giving rise to many new questions, the answers to which must be furnished by the political economy. Political economists also have a considerable debt to society when it comes to the correct interpretation of the path which we have covered. Sometimes they have to resurrect from scratch the real views of the classics of Marxism-Leninism with regard to specific processes and phenomena. It is time for the political economists to bring back into focus the real agents of economic relations, to analyze their interests and needs and people's motives for engaging in economic activity. Economic science is called upon to find answers to such fundamental questions as how can the principles of the plan-based socialist system be coordinated with the interests of the individual and the collective, how can powerful motive forces of development and effective stimuli of economic, scientific, technical, and social progress be created on a socialist basis.

A big role in the solution of the task, set by the 19th party conference, of creating a genuinely law-based socialist state belongs to legal experts. It is their duty not to confine themselves to the regurgitation of and commenting on directive instructions but to create a scientific basis for the elaboration of qualitatively new approaches to the legal regulation of social life. It is necessary to combine more fully fundamental and applied research with an analysis of practical requirements within a system of normative legal acts which would create a legal

basis for the all-around development of our society. Legal experts can and must do a great deal to organize basic legal education throughout the country.

A crucial social task for scientific establishments and specialists in various fields is the profoud scientific and theoretical elaboration of problems concerning the present-day nationalities policy. Organizational and cadre measures and a pooling of the scientific community's efforts will be necessary to ensure its successful implementation. The 19th party conference noted that it would be advisable to establish a scientific center for the comprehensive study of topical problems of nationalities relations on a statewide level.

Today, in conditions of the growing influence of the scientific and technical revolution on all social processes, the most crucial political and economic problems cannot be tackled except in close contact with the spiritual sphere. What is needed is a philosophical interpretation of the present time, its sociocritical analysis through the prism of the communist ideal, and research in the sphere of the theory of culture. The dynamic and productive development of philosophical knowledge, public awareness, and spiritual life is possible only through the inculcation of humanistic values. The time has come to take down from the shelves not only movies, paintings, and works of literature which at the time failed to reach viewers and readers, but also philosophical works. Recently the CPSU Central Committee Politburo approved a proposal to publish a series under the title "From the History of Our Philosophical Thought," the first volumes of which are to be published in 1989. The wealth of philosophical knowledge must serve society.

Sociological reseach is assuming an exceptional importance today. It is necessary to overcome past attitudes to sociology and other social sciences when scientists were encouraged to waste their efforts mainly on demonstrating external well-being which engendered self-satisfaction with what had been achieved and contributed to stagnation in the country's socioeconomic and political development. We must resolutely rid ourselves of this "legacy." The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On enhancing the role of Marxist-Leninist sociology in tackling the key social problems of the Soviet society" set the task of raising the theoretical, methodological, and methodical standard of sociological studies and radically improving their use in the management and forecasting of social processes and the deepening of democratization and glasnost.

The study of public opinion assumes special importance in conditions of the broad discussion of key questions of social life and the development of the initiative of the people's masses. The effectiveness and efficiency of restructuring will depend on how people assess its progress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference noted. The identification of "sensitive issues" in mass consciousness helps to correct social policy and propaganda work and to determine and establish how people measure social progress.

Historical science, and especially science relating to party history is currently at the focus of public attention. A heated debate of acute historical problems is currently under way not only in scientific publications but also in writings on current affairs and works of literature. Vulgar sociologizing and illustrative depiction of historical knowledge are on the way out, and the "blank patches" covering whole periods of our development are beginning to be filled in. Unfortunately, it has become obvious in the course of the polemic that certain representatives of historical science are finding it impossible to cast off group passions and personal ambitions and are trying to replace one half-truth about history with another. It is necessary to ensure that the discussions, not just in historical science but also in other spheres of social science, are dictated exclusively by the desire to defend objective knowledge. No one has a monopoly on the truth, either in raising new questions or supplying the answers to them.

The scourges of social sciences—conservatism, the superficiality of analysis, a complimentary style, and boring language—have found a refuge above all in textbooks. Teachers and students alike express dissatisfaction and are sharply critical of both their content and form. Party documents draw attention to the need to create as swiftly as possible the kind of teaching material which would match the tasks of the day. The first steps have already been taken. However a great deal remains to be done by the social scientists to normalize the situation.

We are living in revolutionary times. Everyone bears a great responsibility for what is being created today. The demands made on social scientists are particularly great. The times exhort them to be bold and engage in a genuinely creative scientific quest.

Interview With Internal Affairs Official

PM2807153388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 88 p 2

[Interview with Yuriy Dmitriyevich Zhurkin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, by correspondents Z. Yeroshok and A. Savinov: "These Affairs Are Not Internal"; date and place not given—boldface passages are boxed editorial insertions as published]

[Text] "Esteemed Editorial Office! Our family has suffered an irreparable loss. I am writing this letter with tears in my eyes. It was at 2130 on 8 March, International Women's Day, that militia staffers Abdulmanov and Petrushin detained our son Ildar Ibragimovich Askarov, born in 1966, on suspicion of being involved in a fight. He

was taken to the militia support point in Kazan's Kirovskiy Rayon. There he was cruelly beaten up by militia staffers Abdulmanov and Petrushin. Our son lost consciousness, fell to the floor, and died on the spot.

"Askarov, his father."

(An inspection by the USSR MVD established that Militiamen Abdulmanov and Petrushin did beat up I.I. Askarov. They were sentenced to 5 and 4 years imprisonment respectively for this crime.)

[Correspondents] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, the editorial office receives approximately 1,000 letters each month containing various complaints against the militia. Of course, we cannot claim that every letter tells the truth. But you have to agree that the situation is alarming.

[Zhurkin] I won't argue. Especially since we also receive quite a few letters of complaint.

[Correspondents] Therefore could we try to investigate the causes and roots of this phenomenon?

[Zhurkin] They go back to the stagnation period and are primarily linked with failures and serious cadre errors in MVD organs, which were immune from criticism. Deviations from Leninist principles of cadre policy, breaches of state and party discipline, and poor standards of educational work contributed to the breaches of socialist legality. There are also other causes, not historical but current: poor professional standards among some of our staffers and their inability and at times even unwillingness to get to the truth by legitimate means.

"We, residents of Labinsk City, Krasnodar Kray, are indignant at the illegalities committed in the city and the rayon. A young guy by the name of V.I. Novoseltsev lived and worked here. He was suddenly caught, arrested, and then tried for the murder of a neighbor. He was given 8 years in jail.

"A year later Volodya suddenly returned home. It appeared that the real murderer had given himself up, otherwise Novoseltsev would have had to 'do' his full time. Incidentally, he told us how he was caught, beaten up, and threatened that some robbery or something similar would be 'pinned on' him.

"Kostenko, Ivanov, a total of 11 signatures."

(It was established that Grigoryev, chief of Krasnodar Kray's Labinsk City and Rayon Internal Affairs Department, applied violence to force Novoseltsev to confess that he had committed the crime. Grigoryev was dismissed from the internal affairs organs, expelled from the CPSU, and sentenced to 9 years imprisonment for having abused his official position and exceeded his authority.)

[Correspondents] So how are we to get rid of the shadows of the past and raise the prestige of MVD organs to their proper level?

[Zhurkin] The prescriptions are well known—glasnost, democratization of work, lofty professional and general culture of our staffers. The last condition is absolute. After all, an intelligent and cultured person is more democratic and more progressive by nature. Therefore if we want proper and radical restructuring, we must realize: We cannot manage without literate, highly skilled, and cultured cadres. Where can we find them? We must raise them ourselves. After all, culture according to Dal is education, both mental and moral. This means that, in order to enhance it, we must give each of our staffers an opportunity to educate himself, to learn. In other words, to create a system for the professional training of our personnel.

[Correspondents] And has such a system been created?

[Zhurkin] It has been created, and it is functioning. Say a young man comes to serve with us. He is sent right away to a training center. He spends 4 months there studying the laws and special subjects and undergoing political, drill, and combat training. This is followed by service and opportunities to continue his studies. There are 47 secondary and 21 higher militia schools, courses, and an academy.

[Correspondents] But how do you quantify the degree of education—this is the question. In our country it is often judged by diplomas. It is nevertheless well known that diplomas do not always guarantee a certain quality of knowledge or professional training...

[Zhurkin] We are perfectly well aware of this. Hence we have set ourselves this task: To certify each one of our staffers.

[Correspondents] In all likelihood a complex and time-consuming task—after all, you employ hundreds of thousands of people....

[Zhurkin] It is complex, but nevertheless our entire personnel will have "passed through" certification commissions in 1987-1988. This will make it possible to consolidate our cadres, to promote some people, and even to "hold back" some of them. For example, 205,000 people went through this "sieve" last year. The result is that the majority of them are competent to hold the office to which they are appointed, but about 10,000 people are due to be dismissed.

[Correspondents] What else is changing in the work of internal affairs organs?

[Zhurkin] Much is changing. But perhaps the most important change is that we are breaking down the framework of the prevailing exclusiveness, the militia more frequently engages in open dialogue with people.

[Correspondents] What does this mean?

[Zhurkin] I already mentioned certification. We have thus introduced a procedure whereby staffers in direct contact with the population report to labor collectives and the public beforehand. Typically, this practice was not invented in some ministerial office, it developed and established itself at local level. Last year, for example, the certification of precinct officers in Kurgan Oblast began by asking readers through the local press to express their remarks and suggestions regarding their work. People responded. The material that was received, and it contained considerable criticism, supplemented the certification commission's opinion.

In 1987 there were 266,000 reports by internal affairs organ leaders and staffers to enterprises and the population.

There are also, unfortunately, different kinds of examples. Out of 1,000 internal affairs organ staffers polled in the Tatar ASSR, two-thirds stated that they had had no meetings with the population during last year.

[Correspondents] And what could you say about the observance of legality, law, and order by internal affairs organ staffers?

[Zhurkin] There are still plenty of our own, "militia" violations. Each day I and other ministry leaders receive reports about incidents involving our personnel. Their nature? Mainly violations of administrative law and criminal procedure norms. But there are also instances of theft, assault, robbery. The facts of each case are investigated and appropriate measures are taken against the culprits. Criminal proceedings are instituted whenever necessary.

"Our son Rafail Mukhamedzyanov was detained on suspicion of theft. Some 3 days later, during a meeting in the prison, we saw a beaten up and tortured person. And a few days after that we were notified of our son's death.

"G. Mukhamedzyanov, A. Kurmanayeva, parents."

(The report by G. Mukhamedzyanov and A. Kurmanayeva was confirmed. Azimov and Satikov, medical detoxification center staffers, caused bodily harm to their son and this resulted in his death. They were sentenced to 3 and 9 years imprisonment respectively.)

[Correspondents] A criminal militiaman—can there be anything less natural than that combination of words?

[Zhurnik] You can't sleep at night after such reports, you feel ashamed and pained.

Dismissals from MVD organs for actions discrediting the title of rank-and-file militiaman or commander totaled 16,700 in 1985, 12,600 in 1986, and 10,700 in 1987.

[Correspondents] In your opinion, how is a militiaman to act in conditions of the so-called "rally democracy"? It is after all no secret that the militia's presence at those rallies and meetings often evokes irritation and protest among people.

[Zhurkin] The point is that the time of blanket prohibitions has really come to an end. Today we can longer "prohibit" or "disperse." During spontaneous rallies and meetings a militiaman must not just prevent disorder, he must prevent it skillfully, displaying a sense of tact and civic maturity.

[Correspondents] Today we are all learning democracy. Bearing in mind that the militia is not isolated from society, it is necessary to clearly realize: The faster society's health is restored, the faster internal affairs organs will restructure themselves.

[Zhurkin] We are really linked by strong ties with many organizations, institutions, and departments. For example, one in four MVD organ staffers is a Komsomol member. Furthermore, more than 65,000 people joined us last year alone on Komsomol recommendations. Does this mean that we are satisfied with our ties with the Komsomol? No. This is because many of our joint events, competitions, and meetings are often one-shot rather than systematic occurrences.

For some reason, the majority of Komsomol committees believe that their main task is to pass on a recommendation. Who is recommended—that is an altogether different matter. It therefore happens that unworthy people come to us without any idea what it means to serve with the militia.

More than 2,000 Komsomol members were dismissed from internal affairs organs in 1987 during their 1st year of service.

[Correspondents] And how do you intend to build relations with other organizations? With the press, for example?

[Zhurkin] I have already said that we are in favor of expanding glasnost. And the press is our main ally here. We have held 12 meetings in central newspaper editorial offices and have looked into more than 400 press items.

[Correspondents] Critical items, presumably?

[Zhurkin] Glasnost is impossible without criticism. Otherwise how can we analyze and correct our own shortcomings? If you are afraid to wash your linen in public, the laundry will never get done.

Commission Proposes Changes in Penal Policy

LD2807135088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jul (TASS)—The Public Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Questions and Human Rights, which operates within the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, has decided to make a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that all prisoners who have been sentenced on charges connected with the activities of religious cults should be pardoned. This was stated by publicist Fedor Burlatskiy, the commission's chairman.

He explained: "We are talking not just about representatives of the Orthodox Church, but of all religious tendencies. I can see no obstacles to carrying this out, especially since there has already been a precedent. I am thinking of the pardoning of so-called dissidents".

Speaking about the activities of his commission, Fedor Burlatskiy stressed that its members are taking part as experts in the working out of new Soviet laws in a spirit of democracy and glasnost.

On the discussions about the abolition of the death penalty in the USSR, Burlatskiy said that, in the commission's opinion, it "must be excluded from Soviet legislation". He recalled that Lenin had adopted a decision on the abolition of the death penalty during far more difficult and brutal times. At the same time, agreeing with the opponents who insist that "deliberate homicide in aggravating circumstances ought to be subject to the death penalty", Burlatskiy notes: "I am afraid that in the future it maybe extended to other crimes. And this could lead to the recurrence of mass repressions. I believe that it would be better to use life imprisonment". But in any case, Fedor Burlatskiy stressed, "nationwide discussion is needed".

He reported that the commission also discussed the question of the need to introduce trial by jury. "A person's fate should really be decided by representatives of the people who are free from any pressure".

Burlatskiy touched upon another aspect of the problem. He said, in particular, that the commission is receiving an enormous quantity of letters from prisoners describing the terrible conditions in the camps. "The camp system is not coping with its main task—the reeducation and social rehabilitation of a person of value. Rather, criminals are being bred. The situation must change urgently...we have adopted a decision to create subcommissions on all these problems".

New Conservation Inspector Interviewed

PM2807085388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Report on interview with V.F. Kostin, USSR chief state inspector for nature conservation, by R. Ignatyev under the "Names and Events" rubric: "Viktor Kostin: Nature Conservation Requires Boldness"]

[Excerpts] The post of USSR chief state inspector for nature conservation has been established in our country for the first time. Viktor Fedorovich Kostin has been appointed to this high office. [passage omitted] He has worked as chief of the (USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources) Main Administration for Water Conservation for the last 5 years. [passage omitted]

And now Viktor Fedorovich Kostin has become USSR chief state inspector for nature conservation. He is vested with extensive rights, but then his duties have increased too. Will he cope?

"Of course, one man, no matter what powers he is vested with, cannot cope here," V. Kostin said. "Republics, oblasts, krays, rayons, and cities are planning to have their own state inspectors for nature conservation.

"To establish our service at the local level, nature conservation committees are being set up. Specialists and an appropriate material base are needed and will be provided by a number of ministries and departments. But while, say, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the Ministry of the Fish Industry are ready to share monitoring functions with us, they are in no hurry to transfer staff and resources. And yet special equipment, coastal protection and patrol ships, planes, and so forth are needed to tackle operational questions."

Before Viktor Fedorovich had even had time to get down to his duties, he was inundated with letters and telegrams from various parts of the country.

An alarming message came from the city of Mednogorsk, Orenburg Oblast. The inhabitants of Yenakiyev, in Donetsk Oblast in the Ukraine, urgently demanded the closure of a metallurgical plant's sintering factory. The inhabitants of other cities in our country also made similar requests.

"We have to investigate each case," V. Kostin explained. "We cannot actually seize and close simultaneously all the plants and production units polluting the environment. That would do enormous economic as well as moral damage to the state. For example, in line with the USSR Council of Ministers Resolution 'On Additional Measures To Prevent Pollution of the Atmosphere in Cities and Other Population and Industrial Centers,' the aforementioned Yenakiyev sintering factory is to be closed in 1990. However, the inhabitants demand that production stop immediately. Yet its output has already

been planned and allocated to consumers for several years ahead. This does not mean that the enterprise can contaminate the environment with impunity. We will demand that the leadership cut back on the harmful discharges. And if the Ministry of Nonferrous Mettalurgy does not close the sintering factory by the set deadline, the local organs of power have the right to do this themselves.

"Unfortunately, along with justified alerts regarding breaches of legislation, we also quite often receive unjustified complaints. People often fall prey to their emotions and insist that a particular production unit be dismantled, the construction of a 'harmful' installation banned, or a plant closed. Their actions sometimes take the form of full-scale demonstrations and rallies. People start collecting signatures.... To be honest, this only hinders our work and and leads to nothing good. The most important thing now is to use economic levers and incentives to raise the management of nature conservation activity to a point where it will cost enterprises operating under the new management conditions too much to pollute the environment or make irrational use of natural resources. That is our program, if you wish."

Alcoholism Decreases, Drug Addiction Increases
LD2307121688 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—A tendency towards lower alcoholism rate has manifested itself in the Soviet Union recently: It decreased by 17 percent as compared with 1985, reports today's TRUD newspaper with reference to the data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

At the same time drug addiction rate has increased two and a half times over the period. The aggregate number of revealed chronic alcoholics and drug addicts was 4,700,000 as of the beginning of this year. Alcoholism is most widespread in Moldavia, Latvia, and the Russian Federation while drug addiction in Turkmenia and in the Ukraine.

Foreign Diplomats Visit Latvia, Meet Leaders
PM2707144788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The heads of diplomatic missions of 26 foreign states accredited in the Soviet Union have come to the end of their program of visits in Latvia.

The diplomats touched on a broad range of subjects during their meeting with B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. At the request of M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the Soviet Union, he dwelt on the complex problems of interethnic contact in the republic, where a substantial proportion of the population consists of nonindigenous people.

The guests were received by Ya.Ya. Vagris, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Reader Labels Compulsory Overtime 'Unlawful'
PM2807095188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[Letter from reader V. Zhidkov under general heading: "Life As It Is"]

[Text] Legality "Our Way" [subhead]

The reply published in PRAVDA 14 March from the Chelyabinsk CPSU Obkom and Oblast trade union council to the collective letter "That's a Fine Way to Discuss It" gives me no peace. In my opinion everything in it is topsy-turvy. Instead of getting the plan to be brought into line with the enterprise's production capacities, the leadership violated Article 41 of the USSR Constitution, which guarantees a working week of no more than 41 hours. Here a semblance of democracy has been created—a plant conference has been held.

No conference can (even unanimously) make decisions which contradict the law. The right to declare a day off a working day in order to fulfill the plan throughout the country or for individual enterprises or a group of enterprises is granted only to the USSR Government (and even then no more than 2-3 days a year).

On 10 May the newspaper published another letter on the same topic—from Donetsk. It turns out that in the coal industry it is also the custom to work on holidays. In such cases the enterprises usually receive a telephone telegram from the Ministry of the Coal Industry. Its thrust is as follows: Because of fuel difficulties in the country, please organize coal mining on holidays and pay double time. And there is a note that working on holidays has been agreed on with the AUCCTU.

But now let's read what is stated in the handbook "Leisure Time" (Trade Union Publishing House, 1987): "Transferring a day off or declaring it a working day for an individual enterprise or group of enterprises can be done only by the USSR Council of Ministers or with its permission. Ministries, departments, and state committees of the USSR and the union republics do not have this right."

There are cases, however, where the administration asks the trade union committee to allow the enterprise to work on a day off to fulfill the state plan and the trade union committees agree. But once again this practice is unlawful. The AUCCTU secretariat has repeatedly noted that the central, republican, and other trade union councils and committees and enterprise trade union committees do not have the right to authorize the repeal or transfer of days off set for enterprises.

In brief, we have legality "the Donetsk way," "the Chelyabinsk way," or "our way."

[Signed] V. Zhidkov, Stupino, Moscow Oblast.

'Heirs' of Corrupt Elite, Lifestyles Scored

PM2707163188 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian
No 29, 18-24 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 20 Jul 88) pp 14, 15

[Yevgeniy Dodolev article under the "Juridical Club" rubric: "The Heirs. They Believed That Laws Did Not Apply to Them, That Their Escapades Would Never Become Public Knowledge"]

[Text] Last summer, while in the Crimea, I witnessed a commonplace quarrel in a restaurant. A thickset young man sitting alone at a corner table ("reserved") was approached by a swarthy gray-haired man who, obviously drunk, leaned against the back of a vacant chair and asked loudly enough:

"Well, Andryusha, is your heyday over now? Missed the train, have we?..."

Then, pretending that his two fists were the hypothetical train of destiny, he drove them across the starched tablecloth, from the dessert plate to the open bottle of choice cognac. At that point the man at the table said in a measured and fastidious tone, loud enough to be heard by people at the nearby tables, who had all fallen silent:

"You're an idiot. Both I and my grandchildren will have more of everything than hundreds of fools like you...."

Those were his exact words—"of everything." And that went for his grandchildren as well....

I remembered Andrey Yuryevich, L.I. Brezhnev's grandson, because literally the next day I came across him again in one of Yalta's cozy streets, parking his silver Mercedes as if he owned the place. Somehow it was all imprinted in a cell of my memory: The slightly annoyed but not malicious voice against the background of intimately clicking cutlery in the restaurant, the bright Crimean sun shining on the equally bright wings of the elegant limousine, the almost imperceptible smell of something cooking coming from the kitchen together with the obliging bustling waiters....

As for the gray-haired troublemaker, I had come across him before—a famous photojournalist.

His surname had appeared from time to time beneath photographs in central publications, and I came across it again this summer when looking through sentimental relics being "processed" as part of an investigation that has been going on for a long time. This unhurried investigation focuses on Kallybek Kamalov, "father of the Karakalpak people," who headed the Karakalpak ASSR party obkom from 1963 until 1984. It appears that the celebrated photographer from the capital took photographs at Tamara Kamalova's fashionable wedding.

Hundreds of color photographs giving a delicate idea of the impressively lavish festivity. Smiles, goblets, the ladies' diamonds, the men's gold cuff links.... The millionaire dignitary's daughter is being given away in marriage. A thousand and one close-ups. The bride's veil, soft and white as cotton wool, symbolizing innocence. The confident look on the face of the bridegroom, son of Sh. Rashidov, former first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. The coats of the numerous guests, generously glistening with regalia in the Brezhnev style.

These sumptuous photo albums were bound in red calico to "perpetuate the memory." It was assumed that these beautifully executed works would be given a suitable place in the personal museums which would be erected by grateful fellow citizens in renamed cities (or at least city-type settlements—each would have his own). This was the first point. Second, skilled masters of the photographic art (in exchange for vast fees) tried to record such festive moments so that the loving offspring would never forget their solicitous parents....

But why am I talking only about photographers? A portrait of Kamalov's daughter was painted by none other than Aleksandr Shilov. Put together a portrait gallery of the grandees' families painted by our famous painters, and you will end up with a salon of imitation and stagnation. No expense was spared for the beloved children. The most popular movie artists and the most famous sportsmen were invited as star guests to banquets given by the mandarins of the bureaucracy. And a rather famous composer produced pleasant waltzes for special occasions—"With all my heart, for memory's sake, so to speak."

These children were refused nothing from the time they were born, and they were inordinately proud of this. It is said that the wives of Roman patricians would strip naked in front of their slaves, not counting those unfortunates as people. In exactly the same way, the splendid offspring of the spoiled elite ceased to feel embarrassed before public opinion. Their whims were legend, and their erotic adventures were hardly ever a secret. "Their children are going crazy because they have nothing left to desire," as poet Boris Grebenshchikov put it. Indeed, there is no logical explanation for some of the escapades of the "sons" and "daughters." Gilded youth.... Actually, even diamond-studded youth at times.

Galina Brezhneva's notorious "boyfriend" was known as Boris Diamond to his friends (while Galina Leonidovna herself was always styled "madame"). Boris Buryatsa, former actor from the "Romen" Theater, met "madame" in the Crimea shortly before Yuriy Churbanov, her last husband in the eyes of the law (now under detention), became deputy to Minister of Internal Affairs N. Shchelokov. Boris was 18 years younger than Galina Leonidovna (Churbanov was 9 years younger), but they were probably drawn together by their passion for diamonds. And diamonds were Boris' downfall.

"Madame" herself speculated in gems with total impunity. Diamond prices more than doubled during Brezhnev's rule. It goes without saying that Galina Leonidovna used to learn about upcoming price increases in advance and bought jewelry almost wholesale. Whenever she was short of cash, she used to pay with "promissory notes."

Her partner in the diamond business was Yu. Sokolov, director of the Yeliseyevskiy Delicatessen Store (executed by firing squad for embezzlement on a particularly large scale when Yu.V. Andropov was general secretary). The circus artists (really!) with whom they associated got the diamonds through customs inside...the cages of wild animals.

As a matter of fact, diamonds were not the strangest items that were smuggled: Galina Leonidovna herself traveled abroad with the circus troupes. Unofficially. The point was that, after a joint trip to Yugoslavia, the father could not bring himself to take his daughter along with him: She "distinguished" herself there and gave journalists several opportunities to write in newspapers and journals about "the 32-year-old daughter of the new chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium."

The overgrown "children" lived outside all laws. How many orgies ended in tragedy, how many lives were wasted—in the most literal sense of the word! I do not believe that anyone compiled statistics of this sort.

For example, currently flourishing poets and journalists and senior officials from the Komsomol Central Committee took part in the entertainments organized by Igor Shchelokov, son of the former minister. And the son of Politburo Member Kirilenko wasted precious foreign currency on organizing stunning safaris—his hobby was shooting African wildlife.

Nor did Kamalov's elder son count the money while his father was "in the saddle." But when the investigation "latched onto" his father's "deeds," Bulat started living "more modestly." Kallybek Kamalovich left his elder son, who was reputed to be a good-for-nothing, a total of R900,000. Adopting an "austerity regime," Bulat spent R184,000 in just 18 months. At any rate, that was the sum he mentioned during the interrogation which I attended....

B. Kamalov: Well, I bought a few things...a video recorder, three suits.... There were trips to resorts....

Investigator: What resorts? You took leave on just one occasion in all that time. And you spent it at home.

B. Kamalov: Well, I spent it.... Two or three meals a day in restaurants.... I didn't notice where the money went.

Investigator: You flew to Moscow on several occasions after 5 December 1986 (the day his father was arrested—Ye.D.). Where did you stay? What did you do?

B. Kamalov: The "Rossiya," "Moskva," and "Kievskaya" Hotels. I lunched and dined at the "Praga" and "Moskva" restaurants. For R100-120 a time. Yes, by myself. How much can I drink in 2 hours? It depends. A liter or two of cognac. Or vodka.

Investigator: The entire republic knew of your drunken escapades in Moscow! Who traveled with you?

B. Kamalov: Mainly my wife. My friend Tolik on occasions. We often traveled together. ("Tolik" was the chief of the Oblast State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate—Ye.D.)

...It was only a week since the arrest and he had not fully recovered from the shock. A sense of his own exclusiveness, of family invulnerability, had been cultivated over the years. Any day now he would have to say goodbye to the privileges and whims of the past. But his tone and his replies made it clear: Bulat Kallybekovich saw everything that was happening to Kamalov's family and many others as a bitter and unfair obstacle to "the natural course of events," as an ugly mistake. Something else could also be read in his gestures, tone, looks, and facial expressions: "Our time will come."

Hope.... But is it so groundless? After all, Molotov was reinstated in the party (when did this happen? In the mid-eighties!) though he had been involved not in some sort of embezzlement but in painstakingly planned mass murder and unprecedented repressions. And did not "Madame's" bulky shape start appearing again at Kremlin receptions after Yu.V. Andropov's death? Were not Shchelokov's case and many others that had been opened under Yu.V. Andropov suspended until the CPSU Central Committee plenums in March and April 1985?

Therefore, the aspirations of all sorts of people like Kamalov had some foundation. There were still plenty of pals left among officials. Was it not these friends among the nobility who wangled a general's pension for Galina Leonidovna Brezhneva? (The special personal pensions paid to G. Brezhneva and Yu. Brezhnev were recently cancelled.) Why do we know so little about all this? Why should we rest satisfied with nothing more than rumors?

Over the last 2-3 years we have talked a lot and increasingly openly about the bitter and terrible pages of our past: Stalin's repressions; army commanders and corps commanders eliminated simply because they were talented and popular; their colleagues who eagerly led whole divisions to be slaughtered on orders from "the brilliant commander."

But...the closer we get to the eighties, the vaguer the protest becomes and the less specific the polemics become. "The years of stagnation"—and that is all. This is reminiscent of Count A.K. Tolstoy and his satirical "History of the State of Russia from Gostomysl to Timashev":

"It might be rather slippery

"Exploring unfamiliar ground;

"And so we'd better not complain

"About what is under foot."

Why is it that we find it so agonizing to talk about our current pains? Simply because we know that some of those who did wrong in the past are still in important posts. And they will not abandon these posts without a battle.

It is these people who protect the children of their comrades who ended up in the purifying flames of restructuring and the grandchildren of other comrades in the common cause. As for the "heirs," they of course believe in nothing but the ruble. Because even the stars [of decorations] were bought by others at a fixed price. The leaders of the investigating team which dealt with the "Kamalov case" told me about one obkom secretary who paid R1 million for the title of Hero of Socialist Labor....

Never mind the heartfelt congratulations (on government telegram forms) attached to the case file of the "father of Karakalpakia," never mind the solidarity, never mind the wishes to carry on in the same spirit, from Star to Star! "...Now, from Kuban soil, I am sending you my heartfelt congratulations—Medunov, first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom."

Say what you like, the "five-star" leader was generous in handing out awards. As a matter of fact, circus tightrope-walker Yevgeniy Milayev, Galina Brezhneva's former husband, also received his Star, after the title of USSR People's Artist(!). Everyone got a more or less juicy morsel from the boss' table. In the graphic expression of a late bard, "The time taught us to drink." And those who drank themselves stupid saw double.

Talk about double standards! "Nothing elevates a person like an active stance in life and a conscientious attitude toward public duty, when unity of words and deeds becomes a daily norm of behavior." I learned this sentence of Brezhnev's by heart when I was preparing for my VUZ entrance examination in the summer of 1975. Not as a moral axiom but as a quotation to be slipped into an essay, regardless of the topic.

As for the "infantes," they were admitted to the most prestigious VUZ's almost on presentation of their identity papers.

It would be interesting to find out what the children of the "untouchables" thought of the pearls of wisdom about "unity of word and deed" when they received degrees and official appointments (Galina Brezhneva, for example, was a doctor of philological sciences and her brother Yuriy Brezhnev was deputy minister of foreign trade). Did they feel like laughing? Did they feel bored? Or were they really "going crazy because they have nothing left to desire"?

Look at Bulat Kamalov. Until his father's arrest he received a salary of R500, had a personal car, and headed a collective of 2,000 people. Honored and respected.

B. Kamalov: After my father's arrest I was left with almost no friends, nobody came to visit.

Investigator: Do you recall how you behaved on the day of the house search? How much did you drink then?

B. Kamalov: Three bottles of cognac.

Investigator: To drown your sorrows?

B. Kamalov: Out of habit.

Investigator: Why did you join the party?

B. Kamalov: My intentions were pure.... As for my father's money, that was a sign of the times. Father tried to cut down on overreporting. Our in-law Rashidov (see above for the sister; Bulat's younger brother was married to Sh. Rashidov's niece—Ye.D.) forced father to file exaggerated reports. Honestly, I did not expect anything like that to happen to my father. There were much more exaggerated reports filed from other places.... You know, everyone used to come down from Moscow, from the Central Committee, from the ministries. They were welcomed according to the customs of the time. They were given plenty to eat and drink. Souvenir gifts. Father used to say that you have to pay bribes in order to get money for construction work.... [Kamalov ends]

Endless wheeling and dealing. A Brezhnevian lifestyle. Drink. Grab. Permit others to. As long as these others are "one of us." Sham, being the product of greed squared. Hypocrisy compounded by an evil commandment: "Apres nous, Chernobyl."

From K. Kamalov's address to his family, videotaped by workers from the USSR Prosecutor's Office 25 August 1987:

"I am a son of the people and am bound to serve the people.... We must restructure ourselves.... I passed part of the bribes to leading personnel from Moscow.... I lived only for the desire to help my Karakalpak people, I built them a railroad which was not in the plan... I boosted culture and the economy."

But here is something strange: Addressing his wife Lyubov Semenovna (a former lecturer in party history, no less), the champion of the plundered people was totally unable to put a precise figure on the...millions passed on to relatives for safekeeping.

As a matter of fact, this does not appear all that incredible in the context of the following fact: N. Shchelokov, Brezhnev's close friend from university days, "kept back" for himself...53 of 73 antique objects once confiscated by the militia from an inveterate dealer (the remaining 20 were passed on to museums). This was standard practice, just like the banquets at the drop of a hat. So presumably the booty was more than plentiful.

Nikolay Ivanov, investigator for especially important cases under the USSR general prosecutor, told me:

"Say you have a criminal who robs a bank and gets away with hundreds of thousands. He suddenly dies. But we do not stop looking for the stolen money until such time as it is all returned to the state. Now look at the situation with regard to the families of former high ranking officials (the former 'untouchables'). If they die, the search for valuables, even though they were illegally acquired, is terminated. Why? Why such a strange 'humanitarian approach'? Why should we leave to the families the vast wealth acquired in the form of bribes? We are talking about massive wealth. Now it is in the hands of the 'heirs.' It is illegally in their possession. It does not belong to them. After all, it is all the property of the people. But evil begets evil. The untouched millions provide a base for future crimes and, with the passage of time, possibly a new spiral of corruption."

There is every reason to think that Igor Shchelokov, former eminent official of the Komsomol Central Committee (his parents committed suicide out of fear of inevitable exposure); Aslam Ruzmetov, former commander of the Tashkent Air Detachment (son of Gaipov, former first secretary of the Kashka-Darya party obkom, who cut his own throat almost during his arrest); Galina Brezhneva, former employee of the USSR Foreign Ministry Archives; and many other "yesterday's people" are not sitting idle. They lived and continue to live by the old slogan: "We're all members of the same clan."

They experience no discomfort (except of course those who are living in the by all means cushy conditions of special investigation prisons, like Yu. Churbanov) since, even when left without the protection of high-ranking fathers, they rely on protection from adoptive fathers. On corporate assistance from comrades in arms of their elder relatives and their own fellow-tribesmen (not blood relations but clan relations). And also on the hope nurtured by all those who recall the "years of plenty" with sweet sighs of nostalgia.

There are many such people. Very many. And by no means all of them should be sought among the notorious "manager-bureaucrats." The return of the good old days is awaited by directors of jewelry stores left holding "Madame's" IOU's, the personal architects who designed palatial dachas for sizable fees, the photographers, the drinking partners and accomplices of the heirs who profited from their legal impunity.... It is awaited by all whom restructuring has brought down and exposed, who would like to continue giving nothing to people while eating their fill, denying themselves nothing, and scorning those who lead a different life.

They are waiting.

It is therefore necessary to tell the whole truth about them. It is not a pleasant job writing about their escapades. But is this not the reason why they cast aside all restraint in the past, believing that nobody would dare speak aloud about their tricks, that people could only whisper about them? Convinced that they had total license, they also demoralized society and depraved our morals, implanting the idea that people like them could do anything. Maybe people like Yu. Churbanov, bribetaker and embezzler of state funds, who is at the same time author of the book "Political Education Work in Internal Affairs Organs," which is even now easily found in libraries. They were also among the makers of Brezhnevshchina, which has become synonymous with stagnation, corruption, hypocrisy, and lies.

That time, the time when laws were trampled, morality was insulted, and souls were depraved, must never come back. This is why we need legality so much today. As well as glasnost.

Kirghiz Secretary Rebuts Media Criticism

PM2807160088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Feature under the rubric "After an IZVESTIYA Article," comprising response by M. Sherimkulov, secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, to an article published in IZVESTIYA No 92, 1 April 1988, plus commentary by special correspondent V. Nadein in Frunze: "On the Article 'Inactive Mechanism'"]

[Text] [Begin Sherimkulov response] The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee reports that the facts set forth in the article in question have been carefully studied by a commission consisting of party and soviet workers, journalists, representatives of the creative unions, and party veterans. The results were examined at the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on 28 April of this year.

The Central Committee Bureau believes that in principle the article "Inactive Mechanism" raises topical issues—the influence of glasnost and criticism on the restructuring process and the attitude of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs toward items in the press and on television. There are certainly many shortcomings in our republic in this respect, and the standard of the work being done is not up to the demands of the time.

At the same time, in touching on urgent problems and the serious omissions that occur here, the newspaper correspondents based their evidence on the remarks of

certain television and press workers and individual published items and television appearances. And they made not entirely justified generalizations from this about the state of glasnost in the republic. They went so far as to say that "...really serious critical materials that raise the deep-seated problems of the present day do not find their way onto the air...."

Thus, discussing E. Turaliyev's work on materials concerning the state of student hostels, the correspondents consider that this work did not go out on the air because the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting leadership deemed it necessary to exempt certain leaders from criticism. By way of confirmation they cite remarks by television workers M. Dubova and A. Gladilov: "No critical program we prepare goes smoothly, without nervous strain. Especially if it mentions the names of leaders, even at rayon level." They cite A. Cheremushkina: "Unfortunately in our republic there are not many opportunities to say what you think. It would be nice, for instance, to ask the chairmen of the republic Council of Ministers and Gosplan: How can the housing program be fulfilled in Kirghizia, when at the present rate it would take nearly 50 years? Or to ask the minister: Why does bribery still flourish in the health care organs? Alas, we are not likely to have the opportunity."

Describing the preparations and showing of the television movies "2 Years in a Life" and "The Explosion" and the appearance in the press of the article "The Clash" and other critical reports, the authors note that party and soviet organs bring pressure to bear on creative workers and try to prevent the negative phenomena that still occur from being submitted to the judgment of the viewer and reader.

A check and investigation of the facts revealed the following. The conflict that arose at the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting over E. Turaliyev's program was misinterpreted. In a discussion in the collegium it was pointed out to him, in particular, that it is incorrect to declare Prorector Comrade Shaymergenov responsible for the state of student hostels, since this matter falls within the duties of another prorector who is responsible for economic affairs. After amendments, the program went on the air. Contrary to the claims of the authors of the article, it contained concrete criticism of specific individuals. E. Turaliyev did not end up in a hospital.

No conflicts arose at the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting in connection with any of the 48 programs prepared last year by senior directors Comrades Dubova and Gladilov, and party and soviet organs did not interfere in their work.

The claim that bribery is rife in the republic's health care system is not substantiated. According to the Kirghiz SSR MVD's figures, in 1985-1987 three cases of bribe-taking were uncovered in health care organs. As regards a television appearance by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on questions concerning the housing program, nobody has approached him with this proposal. The housing problem is indeed acute in the republic, party and soviet organs are working on resolving it, and the working people are kept constantly informed about the measures being adopted. In particular, the capacities of housing construction combines and construction industry enterprises are increasing. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan nearly 2.5 million square meters of housing were commissioned, or 27 percent more than in 1981-1982. The plans set were overfulfilled. But that is not enough. Some 2-2.5 million square meters must be commissioned annually. There are external difficulties here. For instance, in 1987 alone the republic failed to receive nearly one-fourth of its allocated timber materials, and there were major delays in deliveries of sanitary engineering equipment, linoleum, and other materials.

Nor did the chairman of the republic Gosplan refuse to appear on television. At the time of the program he was sick, and the deputy chairman appeared in his place. In 1987 190 leaders of party, soviet, and economic organs, including 3 Central Committee Bureau members, appeared on republican television. However, certain leaders, claiming to be too busy, do indeed decline to participate in television programs and rarely talk to the press. We will rectify this abnormal situation.

The article misrepresents the history of the making of director Z. Eraliyev's television movie "2 Years in a Life" about Comrade Toychubekov, former director of the "60 Let Kirgizii" Sovkhoz in Osh Oblast's Frunzenskiy Rayon, who compromised himself as a leader. In 2 years as head of this newly formed sovkhoz, B. Toychubekov displayed immaturity and incompetence, was rude and insulted people, and thereby turned the collective against himself. Cadre turnover became high on the farm, economic indicators deteriorated, profitability fell considerably, the loan debt increased, and reporting was distorted. Instead of the actual losses, the reports for 1985 and 1986 showed a profit. This made it possible illegally to form material incentive funds and thus obtain unearned bonuses. Among those receiving incentives were violators of labor and production discipline and people who failed to fulfill plans and pledges. Dozens of workers to whom bonuses were credited received no money, and these sums have yet to be repaid. Official forgeries were perpetrated on the sovkhoz, and financial resources were appropriated. The chief bookkeeper and the cashier were dismissed from their posts and expelled from the CPSU for this. Criminal proceedings were taken against them.

In March 1987 Frunzenskiy party raykom bureau, after examining these facts, reprimanded B. Toychubekov and deemed it inexpedient to use him in the post of sovkhoz director. However, in connection with his dismissal the rayon agro-industrial association was guilty of red tape and lack of promptness in drawing up documents. For this, by a decision of the party raykom bureau, Comrade

Baltabayev, chairman of the rayon agro-industrial association, was severely reprimanded, with an entry on his record. The Central Committee Bureau warned Comrade D. Tekenov, first secretary of the raykom.

Director Z. Eraliyev ignored the real facts, and set about misrepresenting them to suit B. Toychubekov's interests and ambitions. He tendentiously arranged statements by leaders of farms in the rayon and disregarded interviews with those who gave a principled assessment of B. Toychubekov. He credited him with the construction of a school and a livestock complex, although he had nothing to do with it. The claim that he started up the production of koumiss is the director's invention. Nor do the sequences showing how the farm started with a trailer in the open steppe meet the demands of documentary cinema; B. Toychubekov's stay in hospital, his departure from the sovkhoz after his dismissal, and so forth, were faked.

Z. Eraliyev misinformed the public by claiming that the hero of his movie lived in allegedly depressingly poor housing conditions, although in 2 years he moved three times, the last home being a seven-room individual house. The IZVESTIYA article states that B. Toychubekov was a victim of his criticism of the rayon leadership. In reality he did not voice any serious criticisms of the party raykom or rayispolkom at plenums.

The movie "2 Years in a Life" was shown in February of this year to the workers of the "60 Let Kirgizii" Sovkhoz and the Frunzenskiy Rayon aktiv. A discussion was held, with the participation of the director and B. Toychubekov. All the speakers—28 people—voiced conclusive and principled criticism of the man who was their leader for 2 years. Z. Eraliyev, who also spoke, admitted that he lacked experience of life, and therefore had been mistaken in his choice of hero for the movie, apologized, and promised to rework the movie. But after returning to Frunze he did not set about making amendments. On 11 April the movie was shown on republican television with appropriate commentaries.

The leaders of the republic State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the "Kirgiztelefilm" studio showed a lack of exactingness and poor supervision in this matter.

It is basically slander for T. Nasirdinov, chief of the agriculture department of the newspaper SOVETTIK KYRGYZSTAN, to make the claim cited in IZVESTIYA: that while he was visiting Frunzenskiy Rayon he was prevented from meeting with people and was all but threatened with reprisals, and attempted to leave by a roundabout route. In reality the journalist was given every possible assistance in his work, all the necessary documents were made available, and meetings and talks were organized with working people and leading specialists on the sovkhoz, labor veterans, and members of the party raykom bureau. At his personal request Comrade Pazylov, deputy chief of the party raykom propaganda and agitation department; Comrade Ysmanova, secretary of the sovkhoz party committee; and Comrade Kudaykulov, chairman of the sovkhoz trade union committee, showed him the museum of Khamza, the well-known poet of the Uzbek people. He returned home by the same route by which he came to Frunzenskiy Rayon.

Portraying B. Toychubekov's dismissal from the post of sovkhoz director and the making of the movie "2 Years in a Life" about it from the standpoint adopted in their article, the authors conclude that this was possible because "the Central Committee is very well disposed toward Party Raykom First Secretary Tekenov." He dared to do it because "the brother of the first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee lives in the rayon and works there as editor of the rayon newspaper."

These assertions are completely groundless, provocative, and designed to form an unhealthy public opinion.

The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee's attitude to Comrade D. Tekenov, who was elected raykom first secretary at the end of 1985, before which he was rayispolkom chairman, is a businesslike one, and he is conscientious about his work. The rayon persistently seeks ways of increasing the efficiency of industrial production and improving the work of the agro-industrial complex and enterprises in the service sphere. The plans set are fulfilled successfully.

The brother of the Central Committee first secretary has been editor of the rayon newspaper ILICH NURU since 1978, after graduating from the journalism department of Tashkent Higher Party School. The rayon aktiv and newspaper employees speak of him in positive terms, and he never permits references to the fact that his brother is first secretary of the Central Committee or brags about it. He is responsible in his approach to his duties as member of the party raykom bureau, a position he has held since 1979. The Central Committee first secretary has held that post since November 1985.

The movie "The Explosion," mentioned in the article, was shown on republican television in January 1988, and was watched by senior officials of the Central Committee apparatus, together with director A. Vidugiris. They expressed the wish for him to take a more objective approach to coverage of questions of the social development of the city of Kara-Kul and take into account the serious shortcomings here. The director agreed. The movie was shown to the hydroengineering construction workers in April of this year, and more than 50 people took part in the discussion, on the whole expressing approval of the movie. The Central Committee brought no pressure to bear on him, as the director himself confirms.

As for the speech by Comrade V.D. Boykov, chairman of Talas Oblispolkom, at a Central Committee plenum, in which he criticized the unsubstantiated content of this movie, what he had in mind was that through the fault of the leadership of the "Naryngidroenergostroy" Administration, questions of housing and consumer facilities for the population were tackled unsatisfactorily for a long time in Kara-Kul, the power workers' city, and they had made numerous complaints to higher bodies. At the end of 1986 the Central Committee Bureau severely reprimanded Comrade K.B. Khuriyev, chief of the administration, for serious shortcomings in resolving urgent social problems in the city of Kara-Kul and other violations, with an entry on his record. Comrade Khuriyev fully admitted his guilt, and as a result of measures being adopted the situation in the city is being rectified.

One cannot agree with the contention of the article's authors that after the dismissal of former Central Committee First Secretary Usubaliyev cadres were replaced in the republic only in the upper echelons. In the last 3 years all the secretaries and more than half of the Central Committee Bureau members have been replaced, as well as nearly 70 percent of party gorkom and raykom first secretaries. And although it is not the purpose of restructuring to replace as many cadres as possible, the process of cadre renewal is under way in the republic. Some cadres who were appointed earlier are doing real work in their posts. These are mainly leaders who have practical experience, have sincerely accepted restructuring, and are striving to master the new style of work. In this context the authors' generalizations to the effect that these cadres were "pillars of command diktat" and cannot be trusted are unfounded. The claim that the only names to be encountered in newspaper articles and television programs are those of moonshiners, alcoholics, and petty thieves is also ridiculous.

At the same time we are aware, and we speak of this openly at Central Committee plenums, that there are still many shortcomings in cadre policy. Instances of leaders who have been dismissed for shortcomings in their work being moved from one post to another have not been eradicated. In some places the opinions of primary party organizations and labor collectives are not taken into account in the course of the selection and placing of cadres.

In fact, as we reported in the Central Committee Bureau's report on the leadership of restructuring, 10-20 percent of respondents to a questionnaire indicated that the Central Committee Bureau's work style remains the same, while 80-90 percent noted positive developments. We believe that the Central Committee bureau still could work much better and that on the whole the newspaper article will help to improve the activity of the Central Committee and the republican party organization. We will take note of the criticism of us.

The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, having examined the article "Inactive Mechanism," adopted a corresponding resolution and outlined concrete measures to expand glasnost and step up the work of the press, so that it more effectively influences the process of restructuring and the development of democratization and becomes a real platform for leading experience and a fighting weapon in the struggle against negative phenomena, habit, and stagnation. There will be a correct and timely reaction to critical newspaper articles and television and radio programs, and any attempts to bring pressure to bear or persecute people for criticism will be resolutely cut short. In the last 2 years the Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat alone have considered items in the republican and central press on 18 occasions.

While reporting to the editorial office on the results of its examination of the article "Inactive Mechanism," the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee considers it necessary also to report the observations made at the Central Committee Bureau concerning the personal behavior of the newspaper's own correspondent Comrade Shipitko. He shows arrogance, high-handedness, and disrespect for workers in party and state organs, rarely puts in an appearance on the spot, has little contact with deputies and Communists, does not always listen to their opinion, and in a number of his reports misrepresents the facts.

[Special correspondent V. Nadein commentary] Who Most Needs Glasnost [subhead]

Frunze—During my trip to Kirghizia I asked Comrade Sherimkulov:

"Could you not send the editorial office an abridged version of your response? There are a great many details here which we did not write about at all. The response is twice as long as the original article. It is hard for a newspaper to publish such an enormously long text."

"No, we can't," the Central Committee secretary replied.

Let us mention at once two points for which, on investigation, no documentary substantiation was found.

First: The editorial office has no documents to confirm that the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee shows special favor to the leadership of Frunzenskiy Rayon, where the Central Committee first secretary's brother works. Therefore it would be more accurate to proceed from the assumption that Raykom Secretary Comrade Tekenov obstructed the shooting of a movie he did not like on his own initiative.

The second point: E. Turaliyev did indeed violate production discipline by refusing to incorporate in the program changes that had been agreed upon. His position would have been beyond reproach if he had immediately arrived at a principled assessment of the pressure brought to bear on him by several university leaders who came to the studio for that purpose prior to the transmission of the program.

All the other points in the article have documentary confirmation. They can only be called into question if they are considered from the special angle of the intention to refute them.

The response of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee says reproachfully that "E. Turaliyev did not end up in a hospital." But the article said nothing about hospital. What it said was quite different: "Turaliyev consulted cardiologists and was confined to bed." The response interprets "was confined to bed" as a misrepresentation, as if you can only be ill in a hospital. What is the point of a dispute over the meaning of one phrase?

Or this: "The claim that bribery is rife in the republic's health care system is not substantiated." If we compare it with the text, we see that that said something different. It said that television journalists would like to ask the minister of health a question about bribes in front of the television camera. Only to ask, nothing more. And it is the minister's sacred right to reply however he thinks fit. He could make the same reply as the Central Committee's response: Only three cases in 3 years. Let us hope that this will not come as a surprise to the inhabitants of the republic....

The special attention devoted to the life story of former Sovkhoz Director B. Toychubekov might also cause surprise. Let us recall that the article dealt solely with the movie in which the reasons for Toychubekov's removal were analyzed. Or rather, with the obstacles encountered in making that movie. With the fact that for approximately a month not one person in Frunzenskiy Rayon would agree to say a single word about the dismissed director. Neither good nor bad. It was only after persistent requests that the raykom bureau appointed three comrades, who censured B. Toychubekov on screen. But neither they nor the Central Committee response refute the fact that 27 commissions failed to find anything criminal in the actions of the sovkhoz director.

"We simply adopted a humane approach to him," Comrade Sherimkulov says, to explain this peculiar fact. "We confined ourselves to a dismissal and a reprimand, although we could have taken court proceedings."

Twenty-seven commissions—only so as to show humanity later?

What is the use of making a fuss about minor facts? "He moved three times, the last home being a seven-room individual house." All true—and not true. The two previous homes were very poor, the last individual home was for two large families—that of the director and a worker.

And so on—from "illegal" bonuses to cadre turnover.

The irritation felt by republican leaders on reading an "inaccurate" interpretation in the newspapers is understandable. But what are we to think of the fact that in literally a matter of a few months the Central Committee Bureau has refuted critical items in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, IZVESTIYA, and STROITELNAYA GAZETA?

This is all the more important in view of the fact that the Kirghiz leaders' views on glasnost, freedom to express opinions, socialist pluralism, and methods of leadership of the mass media by party apparatus workers do not, to put it mildly, enjoy unanimous support among journalists.

The political significance of this disagreement is a matter for a far more serious and difficult discussion than differences of interpretation of any particular fact.

After the article "Inactive Mechanism," all the journalists whose criticisms were quoted in the article were invited to submit written explanations.

Why? The answer is clear: So that the refutation that was being drafted by a carefully chosen commission would look good.

The commission itself consisted of 10 people—from Comrade Sherimkulov, secretary of the Central Committee, and Comrade Akmatov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, to Comrade Minich, deputy chairman of the republican Nature Conservation Society. It is clear to anyone who knows the real state of affairs that neither a Central Committee secretary nor a Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman checks individual facts. The apparatus does that. The opinion of such influential personages is important in assessing the general political situation. But that is missing from the response.

Why? This is not a closely guarded secret. The command-and-administer interference of apparatus workers in the activity of the mass media is so obvious that there is only one way to cover it up: to prove in each specific case that the journalists were making a serious mistake and simply had to be "put right." "In 3 years not a single item has met with support," N. Kokhanov, deputy editor of SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, said at a party meeting. "As soon as a critical item appears, they try to prove to us that it is incorrect. There is the same attitude toward the central newspapers."

Since meetings have been held in virtually all the republican collectives of journalists, the state of glasnost, at any event in the mass media, can be depicted on the whole like this. Under the former leadership it was skillfully suppressed. Intractable people were driven out and obedient ones were encouraged. "We had a kind of criticism that there was no need to suppress," television journalist L. Rakhmatullina believes. New times came. It was the party organs that called on journalists to become "disturbers of the peace." Unfortunately this situation did not last long. Although the talk about the all-around development of criticism and self-criticism is as loud

today as yesterday, the approach that has emerged is new in form (though in content it is lamentably familiar). This is how it was reflected in the words of Comrade Malevannyy, first deputy chief of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, at the Central Committee session that discussed "Inactive Mechanism": "The IZVESTIYA item is supported by those journalists who explain their own failures in terms of suppression of criticism and encroachment on freedom. Other journalists support it for the sake of making a protest." So there are some labels for those who disagree!

We are learning to live and work in a new way. In these conditions disagreements are inevitable. No one has a monopoly of the truth—and of course, that includes journalists. And it is not a question of proving at all costs that you are right—which means your opponent is wrong. The fact is that glasnost cannot exist as something imposed from above, as a fashion, without which it is unseemly to "face the public."

Ultimately glasnost in Kirghizia is needed most of all not by the editorial offices of central or local newspapers, but by the republican Communist Party and those who head it.

Heavy Rains Cause Flooding in Chita Oblast

LD2807161688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] There has been an incessant heavy rainfall in Chita in the past month, causing large and small rivers to rise again. An extraordinary situation has developed. Some rivers have risen by 6-7 meters, reaching record levels. Many population centers are under water, as are tens of thousands of hectares of cultivated land. The Trans-Siberian Railway is the only thread linking some rayons, which have almost been turned into islands, but there are disruptions in the work of the railway. The Transbaykal rivers of Nercha, Ingoda, Kuanda, and Aleur have risen three times over last month's level.

This is the latest, most powerful onslaught of the elements. Bridges have been destroyed again, roads washed away, and power transmission lines damaged in some places. According to preliminary data, seven people have died. More than a thousand families have been evaucated from the afflicted population centers. The oblast center has not escaped the sad lot: Dozens of residential houses and production facilities have been flooded.

Economic

Ryzhkov, Others Debate Draft Law on Quality

PM2807134788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Jul 88 p 2

[D. Pipko article: "Quality of Law on Quality"]

[Text] At an extended session on 22 July the USSR Council of Ministers discussed the draft USSR law "On Production Quality" and rejected it. The draft law must now be fundamentally rewritten.

"Our country has enormous natural resources; intelligent, educated people; and possesses a developed science and industry," N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, emphasized when opening the session. "We have everything we need for living a rich life. But do we really live as we ought?

"We manufacture more tractors than all the leading capitalist countries but still do not have enough. The United States consumes 90 million tonnes of rolled metal per year against our 110 million, but its economy is one-third more powerful than ours. We manufacture more footwear than they do, even when calculated on a per capita basis, but we cannot meet the demand nevertheless. This means that we are not making the right kind of footwear. And what about the quality of construction work? Just think of the anguish people go through when they move into new apartments! In short, quality is not only an economic category, it is also a sociopolitical one. Basically, we are talking about the quality of life...."

At first it seemed as if the proposed draft law did offer ways to solve this task. Substantiating the need for this law, the keynote speaker—G.D. Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards—reminded people that at present production quality is ensured with the aid of uncoordinated documents frequently contradicting each other. The law is intended to remove these contradictions and channel efforts in the same direction.

The speaker had not even finished, but judging by the rejoinders in the hall you could guess that the discussion of the draft was going to be stormy. But the intensity of the criticism and categorical expression of opinions exceeded all expectation.

"This draft law has a cold, jail-like air about it: It contains too many punitive measures," V.G. Pavlyukov, general director of the Saratov "Elektron" State Production Association, said. "The European society for quality control has even removed the word 'control' from its name. Whereas we, while talking about democratization, independence, and economic levers, place the emphasis on fear...."

"The main idea of the draft is to achieve quality through tougher supervision," V.V. Kadannikov, first deputy general director of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, expressed a similar opinion. "We, on the other hand, feel that the problem should be solved by raising the standard of research and economic incentives...."

"Unfortunately, the draft looks to the past," Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, said. "It is based not so much on the new economic mechanism as on outmoded, high-handed, administrative methods of management...."

"This document cannot be presented for nationwide discussion," Professor R.A. Belousov from the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy said with conviction. "I am sure that if the law were to be passed in its present form, the leaders of the State Committee for Standards would immediately appeal to the government with a request for new staff...."

After statements like these you could get the impression that everything contained in the proposed draft law runs counter to elementary logic. In actual fact this is not the case. You could possibly argue about why the main section of the document—on the protection of consumers' rights—comes at the end rather than the beginning. But at least there is such a section. And it stresses that in questions of quality the consumer has priority over the manufacturer.

The authors of the draft have tried to make collectives' material well-being dependent on the standard and quality of the goods they produce. They have also stipulated measures to stimulate research and development: For example, credit for this purpose is to be offered on favorable terms and authorization given to treat such expenditure as prime costs. Finally, as G.D. Kolmogorov and his co-rapporteur F.A. Amirdzhanyan, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Standardization, confirmed, the economic contract must be the basic document determining the relationship between the consumer and the manufacturer.

One may ask: In that case, why has the draft law been given such a unanimous rebuff? First and foremost because it places the emphasis on high-handed, administrative methods of control rather than on economic methods of quality control. If we are going to be frank, the scientists instructed to draw up the draft were unable to withstand the departmental pressure brought to bear by the State Committee for Standards. And the State Committee for Standards has used the draft law to make the majority of privileges and sanctions dependent on its own documents and services.

"The basic concept of the law," F.A. Amirdzhanyan said, trying to substantiate his position, "is that our standards requirements must be on a level with international, world standards requirements or higher...."

This condition immediately put industrial workers on their guard: Would an ordinary enterprise with no modern equipment and without the necessary cadres and materials be able to achieve this? The State Committee for Standards would write these higher indicators into its standards and begin certification procedures accordingly. "And we would find ourselves in the position of people," my neighbors said, "who have been given instructions for walking the tightrope and yet are sent to perform down in the circus ring. It would not work—and they themselves would be held to blame...."

Even more objections were raised at the proposal to certify enterprises for their ability to steadily manufacture high-quality products and to issue licenses for the right to export output. True, the draft law does contain the proviso that these operations are to be carried out on a strictly voluntary basis, at the wish of the enterprise concerned. But how could an enterprise refuse if this was the only way to secure favorable normatives for deductions from profit or the first category of labor remuneration and incentives?

"Why do you constantly try to introduce restrictions and regulations?" N.I. Ryzhkov asked in reference to the report. "We have already introduced a passport system for enterprises— and that did no good. We have issued a mass of Seals of Quality, but we still have no quality. Are we not making a living task excessively formal with these measures? I get the impression that the draft law does not mix well with economic reform...."

As the discussion went on to show, these questions had fundamental importance. Industrial representatives frankly said that the draft was an attempt to limit their independence contrary to the Law on the State Enterprise, fetter their initiative, and impose excessive bureaucratic procedures.

"We feel that in light industry the notion of 'world standards' has been stripped of any real meaning," N.I. Yeremina, chief engineer at the Moscow Ya.M. Sverdlov Silk Combine, said. "As far as our products are concerned, only the opinion of the consumer and the demand on the domestic and world market can serve as an indicator. As for certification.... We all know that this has not produced any improvement in quality. But an enormous number of people are needed to compile the necessary documents. Must we really repeat our mistakes?"

Perhaps it is all a question of the specifics of light industrial goods, for which the most important criteria are appearance, conformity with fashion, and style? But no, it seems that even in automobile construction the concept of "world standards" is very vague. V.V. Kadannikov frankly admitted that it is virtually impossible to make a car whose every parameter is on a par with the highest world achievements. Every vehicle is a compromise in which the advantages demanded by the consumer are achieved at the expense of other features.

Discussing this problem, many of the speakers referred to foreign practice, where a mass of goods are produced which look wonderful and...have low parameters. But, on the other hand, the price is a good reflection of these parameters. The idea is simple: Let every product have its own "ecological niche" and its own market. Only the standards requirements concerning safety, environmental protection, technical compatibility, and interchangeability remain immutable.

If this course of action were taken, the solution of most problems concerning output quality could be entrusted instead to the consumer and the manufacturer—let them come to an agreement between them. Most industrial workers insisted on this. And it is this insistence that obliges us to ask ourselves the question: But would we have better-quality products if this were to happen?

It is not even a question of this making it easy for the manufacturer to dictate his will, given our chronic shortage of many types of goods and the manufacturer's monopoly on their output. Not having had time to train cadres and auxiliary services, the consumer himself often prefers to have outmoded equipment. It is still the case, for example, that many are refusing to accept machine tools with digital program control and trucks with built-in computers.

There was another worrying detail about this exchange of opinions: While speaking out in favor of economic methods of quality control, not one of the enterprise managers who spoke actually suggested any specific measures. One got the impression that the present situation suits many of them. But some are not against the idea of deviating from it. The unanimity with which all production workers criticized the state acceptance system was indicative in this respect.

"We have given them our best people," the aforementioned V.G. Pavlyukov said. "But, figuratively speaking, instead of going into the attack with bayonets, they are simply propping up the attack with bayonets from behind. As designers and technologists, they are lost to production...."

A.A. Sanchukovskiy, general director of the Minsk "Gorizont" Production Association, went even further in this argument. He said that it is not the consumer's rights that need to be protected but, on the contrary, the manufacturer who should be protected against the consumer. Why? It seems that some consumers are deliberately wrecking their television sets so that they can exchange them for new, more modern models. This statement met with murmurs and ironic rejoinders from the audience. But the very fact that the statement was made at all is a warning signal: Evidently the future draft law on quality will have to contain sanctions and concessions.

The speakers touched on a multitude of serious problems during the discussion of the draft USSR Law "On Production Quality." But particular reference should be made to one problem, which went almost unremarked. Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev introduced the subject:

"We must change the method whereby laws are drafted. We are making a mistake by entrusting this task to the relevant departments. It is no accident that Roman law says: 'You cannot be the judge of your own case.'"

Recent events compel us to think about what he said. In a short space of time the USSR Council of Ministers has "stopped" the drafts of two laws: The first one—on inventions, and now—on production quality. Is the drafting of such important documents being approached too lightly? After all, the draft law on quality has been in the preparatory stages in various forms since 1986. Obviously the problem is more complex than the usual question of "who" should oversee the process and "how." Otherwise, cunning questions would not have hung in the air without an answer, one of which was asked by Professor Yu.V. Yakovets:

"And how much is all this going to cost us? I have heard no mention yet of what kind of outlays will be required by the measures outlined in the draft law. Or what kind of effect they promise to have. But without this, how can we decide what to leave in the law and what to take out?"

Summing up the results of the discussion, N.I. Ryzhkov said:

"When I first acquainted myself with this draft I felt that it could be taken 'as a basis' and presented for nationwide discussion. However, today's discussion has placed this conclusion in some doubt. There is a danger that if we do take it 'as a basis' we will then agree to a cosmetic 'repair job.' And we would get nothing fundamentally new out of it. But we need a law that would radically change the situation with quality.

"At the same time, we must realize that some of the decisions taken do reflect gradual progress. Production certification certainly does not tie in with economic reform. But it is a necessary transitional stage. This must be frankly stated. The same is true of the state acceptance system. But it must be made clear that it too is a temporary measure.

"We talk about the socialist market, the need for socialist competition, the struggle against the monopolist system that is stifling us. The law on quality must be geared to this and create the necessary conditions. And, of course, the individual must be actively represented in it. We are all aware that no controllers can save the situation if people are not going to make the effort to work well...."

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium decided to broaden the working group responsible for preparing the draft by bringing in major economic scientists, production workers, and economic leaders. The group is tasked with creating a draft document that will fully accord with the course mapped out by the 19th all-union party conference.

Party's Economic Restructuring Role Viewed

PM2807134188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Prof S. Rogachev, director of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences research institute for the study and generalization of the experience of party, soviet, and ideological work, under the rubric "From Positions of 19th Party Conference": "Without Usurping"]

[Text] The experience both of our own country and of the other socialist countries convincingly attests that the national economy's transfer to predominantly economic methods of management enhances the interaction between the economy and politics. Nor is there any need to prove how great is the importance of party-political and ideological backup for economic progress.

Essentially the reconstruction of our political system and the success of restructuring as a whole both depend on the correct solution of the question of the clear differentiation of the functions of party and state organs, the 19th all-union party conference noted. Yet the unconditional need to abandon party committees' usurping of economic leaders is often still understood in a straightforward and simplified way outside the complex dialectical and contradictory interconnection between superstructure and base relations and between the economy and politics and the change in their nature, content, and forms.

The ruling party will never be able to dodge, to avoid, the leadership of economic development and the solution of economic tasks. Moreover, as V.I. Lenin warned, "without the correct political approach to the cause, a given class will not retain its rule and consequently will be unable to resolve its production task either."

Any political relations, including party-political relations, are determined at their underlying basis by economic prerequisites, economic progress. It is on this basis that there develops independent political action, for which the party committees act as generator and conductor. Let us turn to their experience.

Thus, the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom pays special attention to the development and consolidation of the social activeness of labor collectives and their leaders in coordination with the introduction of economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet], self financing, and contract forms, and ultimately with the enhancement of labor efficiency. In my view the Lipetsk, Belgorod, and Orel obkoms and the Lithuanian and Belorussian Communist Party Central Committees and some other committees are being purposeful in stepping up their political backup for socioeconomic processes and social programs. But we must agree that this is only the start of the restructuring of party activity. Research is revealing that theoretical and everyday awareness lag behind the intensifying dynamism of restructuring.

Political relations and the political system exert active influence on the economic process. In periods that are turning points (our restructuring, for instance), this influence can become decisive. This cannot be disregarded.

The delimitation of the functions of the party leadership and other forms of management of the social process is one of the determining tasks of the fundamental improvement of the political system envisaged by the conference. This task is complex and contradictory enough and cannot be resolved on the basis of mechanistic principles. Because there is no economic, social, organizational, or any other question which would be beyond the competence of the party committees and which by force of particular circumstances could not acquire a political interpretation.

The economic mechanism of the recent past, which gravitated toward methods of leadership based on command directives, was expressed in the content, forms, and methods of work of the party committees. They assumed in large volume operational management functions which were not theirs, usurping other organs and organizations in resolving current, immediate tasks. And something would frequently happen which would oblige us to recall Lenin's caustic description of Communists who "to this day have little skill in understanding their real management task: It is not seeking to do 'everything' for 'themselves,' straining and failing, taking on 20 tasks and failing to complete one, it is checking the work of tens and hundreds of assistants, organizing the checking of their work."

It is no secret that this can be observed to this day: Specific sociological research shows that the solution of economic problems is usually viewed by party committees outside its dependence on, outside its interconnection with, party-political activity and social aspects. The exaggeration of organizational relations is continuing, which obviously does not help matters. For instance, only 10-20 percent of Communists polled during the study of the question believe that the party bureaus and committees have really, and not merely verbally, headed the restructuring process. Nearly half of those polled assessed their activity as insufficiently vigorous.

Each specific historical stage has its own inherent aspects of politics which reflect most fully its class content. Today this means the qualitative enhancement of working people's social and creative activeness on the basis of the radical democratization of social life. Nonetheless, sociological surveys make it possible to conclude that the influence of the majority of party committees is so far not very tangible on precisely those salients of restructuring which are connected with democratization, glasnost, and self management. Problems of the development of self management and the activation of human factors have not yet become paramount for many committees. Yet this is where the most important "nerve" in restructuring the political system is today.

The following fact is characteristic. After the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, all republican, oblast, and kray CPSU committees examined, at plenums and bureau sessions, questions of introducing the economic reform and transferring enterprises to the new conditions. But as a rule the discussion took place outside its interconnection with the problems of self management and the orientation of production activity to qualitative factors and indicators of intensification, toward social effect. The party committee leaders' desire to "close" as many problems as possible by examining them at bureaus and plenums continues to make itself felt. Plenums' agendas are formed mainly by analogy with those discussed in higher ranking committees and duplicate them.

The radical economic reform demands that we effect a qualitative change to the party committees' attitude toward the socioeconomic aspect of the matter. But it continues very frequently to remain outside their field of vision. Technological approaches prevail in the old way in the leadership of production development. Sometimes it is even considered that the differentiation of the functions of party and economic organs makes it possibly noncompulsory for party committees and party workers to address economic categories. The most profound misconception! Using economic methods and forms as an instrument of management is one thing, competently keeping track of the course of the economic process, its trends, its influence on the social sphere of the life of the labor collective, and its social effect is another. The elaboration of the strategy for the social development of either a region or an enterprise is impossible outside economic vision.

It is important to reduce the apparatus of party committees, to make it more mobile and receptive. But it is even more important to make it really accountable to the elected organ itself and dependent on it. The conference resolution "on the democratization of Soviet society and the reform of the political system" gives, it seems to me, clear instructions on this score.

The content and forms of party leadership are not given once and for all. On the contrary, they are dynamic, especially under the conditions of the acceleration of social development. And we cannot fail to see that many party committees are unfortunately still liberating themselves only slowly and uncertainly from excessive organization, from a passion for issuing numerous instructions, and from the excessively static and inert nature of organizational structures.

Of course, the improvement of the work of the party committee as an organ of political leadership is in no way reduced to changing organizational structures but at the same time it is impossible without renouncing sectorial departments in the apparatus. At present these departments function as economic policy organs geared to the fulfillment of special sectorial management functions. The actual essence of the party-political leadership of the economy's development can in general not be reduced to some one sphere of activity.

The quest has begun in the party for possible organizational structures which would accord most fully with present-day requirements. A few years ago now an economic department to replace sectorial departments was created in the Timashevskiy CPSU Raykom, Krasnodar Kray, new structures are being tested in a number of Moscow raykoms, interesting experience is being accumulated in the Nizhegorodskiy Raykom, Gorkiy, and so forth. To what do the polls of the aktiv which have been held in this connection attest? Most frequent are statements to the effect that the local committees should have departments for cadres policy, organizational party and ideological work, social policy, and economic policy. In the opinion of many people this will enable party workers to master political methods of leadership more rapidly.

I think that the dominant trend in the forthcoming period should be the drawing of distinctions between party committees' organizational structures in terms of their numerical strength and function. With the present level of the party's development and the broad multiplicity of specific conditions, I believe it would be possible to instruct committees, within the framework of a common wages fund, to determine for themselves the structure and numerical strength of their departments and their specialization.

The structure of party committees should consider more fully than it does now the modern trends and natural laws of the development of production forces and the organizational forms which arise on their basis. Intersectorial scientific and technical complexes, the specific features of whose party leadership contradict the territorial and production principle of party organizations' structure, are becoming widespread. This applies to a considerable extent to science and production and production associations. Various types of cooperative associations and enterprises also have important individual features. The party committees must, naturally, consider all these features.

Politics is increasingly becoming a factor which actively ensures the restructuring of economic relations. The party committees are called on to back up restructuring politically, ideologically, and organizationally. This applies primarily to the restructuring of the economy and its orientation toward social effect and man's comprehensive, harmonious development.

Vladivostok Trade Body Officials Interviewed

LD2607105688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0615 GMT 26 Jul 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The country's first association for business cooperation with the countries of the Asian and Pacific Ocean region has been established in Vladivostok: Correspondent O. Padenko reports:

Half the world's population lives in the Asian and Pacific Ocean region, and numerous companies in neighboring countries are willing to develop mutually beneficial links. The headquarters of the association is located in Vladisvostok. Academician Yelyakov was elected head of the intermediary organization. [video shows scene at a meeting; port scenes with ships tied up alongside a quay]

[Begin recording] [Padenko] What is the program of the new association?

[Yelyakov] The first one is economic, to promote Soviet equipment and technology, and raw materials on the Asian and Pacific Ocean market; the second objective is a political one, that is to say to get established on the Asian and Pacific Ocean market in order that the Soviet Union can occupy the place it deserves in this very important and, I would say, strategic region.

[Padenko] In what way, with what resources, do you think you will achieve this?

[Lozovoy, identified from screen caption as general director of the association] We undertake to carry out the work and deliver it to the customer, the member of the association. This means joint enterprises, new production facilities, technology, and even export-import operations involving deliveries of several trial consignments. The field is en enormous one for our activity.

[Padenko] Do you have the necessary base for this?

[Lozovoy] We have the base for this. For this we have a powerful industry, we have experience in overseas trade, we have the enterprises, and once we have everything coordinated we will carry out these tasks. [end recording]

Lithuanian Cooperatives Establish Consortium

LD2907121488 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Mazeikiai, Lithuania July 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov reports:

A new model of comprehensive economic and social development of a whole region is being created in Mazeikiai district of Lithuania. Industrial and agricultural enterprises and cooperative organizations of the district have decided to set up a consortium with the participation of a Soviet bank and with the application of foreign experience and capital. It will take up the output and marketing of finished products both in the USSR and abroad.

"In our district, there are about 60,000 people whose average age is under 30," said Romanas Songaila, first secretary of the district committee of the party. "We put out agricultural products, footwear, electric motors, compressors, children's furniture, and dress furs. The limited nature of traditional, extensive forms of development became increasingly obvious in recent years. There is usually a shortage of funds for the solution of essential problems. The district has to appear in the role of supplicant with regard to a ministry and the republic. As a result we cannot effect the reconstruction of the creamery, manufacture a sausage producing line, and to build new roads".

"Following the 19th Conference of the CPSU where much attention was devoted to a search of new forms of economic development, we conceived an idea of organizing a consortium which will help establish joint enterprises with foreign partners and spend the money gained in hard currency at its own discretion for expansion of production and for the development of the social sphere", Romanas Songaila said.

"Not a single project stands chances for success without support from lending and financial institutions, he went on to say. Luckily, the idea took the fancy of the USSR agro-industrial bank which after a detailed analysis of our potential not only intends to grant the necessary credits but has also expressed readiness to become a full-fledged participant in the project. Through foreign partners the bank will select clients interested in investing funds in the economy of the district. Talks are already under way with leading Swedish and Austrian banks. What will the consortium offer to foreign partners? Furs, flax, mushrooms, berries, agricultural and other products. We hope to develop foreign travel, hunting, and to build hotels. A runway with customs and passport control will be built in the district to make it easier for foreign citizens to visit here".

Energy Saving Discussed at Kremlin Meeting

LD2907084788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1626 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov writes: At the joint session of the energy commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet held today in the Kremlin, the deputies examined possibilities for improving energy saving in the national economy in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress directives.

The USSR is known to hold one of the leading places in the world for electricity generation, with the total capacity of its power stations being more than 300 million kilowatts. Over the last 15 years the annual output of electricity in the country has more than doubled. However, as was noted at the session, energy resources are not always used rationally. Reserves are fairly large, but the proportion of energy expended on the production of steel by electricity for example, can be cut by one and a half times; on synthetic rubber this saving can be more than doubled. New energy saving technologies and equipment are being installed slowly. Losses in housing and public services are large: Excess consumption in heating residential buildings amounts to no less than 60 million

gigacalories of heat each year—principally because of the imperfect nature of heating systems. Extremely small use is being made of renewable forms of energy—geothermal, solar, and wind.

After examining the situation, the deputies proposed that the Fuel and Energy Complex Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other ministries and departments should restructure their energy saving activity, and aim for a rational and balanced fuel and energy structure. Particular attention was paid to the attainment of progressive indicators for the power-output ratio for production. The commissions submitted a number of recommendations directly to the USSR Government.

Machine-Building Sector Failing To Meet Targets

LD2807221588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Leonidov writes: The USSR State Committee for Statistics, summing up the results of the country's economic development in the first half of 1988, has acknowledged "a certain improvement in the work of the ministries of the machine-building complex." The production of its output, the report notes, has increased by 7 percent, which is 1.5 times higher than in industry as a whole. The output of means of computer technology and of some types of metallurgical, chemical, and oil and gas refining equipment has risen considerably.

These facts assume particular importance now, when half of the 5-year period (1986-1990) has elapsed, and when it is time to evaluate what has been done. There has undoubtedly been progress in the machine-building complex, which was allotted a key role in developing the economic concept of restructuring. According to the data of the USSR Council of Ministers bureau on machine-building, since the start of the 5-year period over 4,500 types of new machines have been mastered in this industrial branch. The proportion of major types of world-standard production out of the total manufactured has increased from 23 percent in 1985 to 55 percent this year. The volume of investments has risen.

But all this cannot conceal the fact that the acceleration of development of machine-building and the renewal of its material and technical base is not proceeding at the rate set down by the targets of the 5-year plan and the modernization program. Both in terms of quality and quantity indices, neither the complex as a whole, nor the majority of ministries are as yet meeting the targets of the 5-year plan. This relates in particular to such priority branches as the electronic and machine-tool industries.

In order to cope with the large-scale tasks of the 5-year period (for instance, to make a three or four-fold cut in the time taken to develop and assimilate new technology), all resources and intellectual and scientific and production potential should be concentrated in the decisive sections of public-sector production, Ivan Silayev, chairman of the machine-building bureau, believes. This involves implementing 44 priority aspects selected jointly by users and producers. These include the development of more modern technology for the agro-industrial, social, construction, fuel and energy, and other complexes, and production of consumer goods.

Krasnoyarsk Airport Construction Problems

OW2807182488 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0310 GMT on 26 July carries the scheduled 10-minute "Restructuring Spotlight" program presented by T. Komarova, who begins the program by reading a number of letters from viewers on a variety of subjects. She then speaks in general terms about the work of an investigative journalist and the likely reaction to press articles both from the public and the concerned authorities. A case in point was an article about the construction of a new airport in Krasnoyarsk. Following the article, the journalist was accused of incompetence by the city and aviation authorities. Komarova then says that under present conditions it is important to ascertain whether the journalist was correct or whether the Ministry of Civil Aviation had legitimate grounds for complaint. Especially in view of the fact that the journalist suggested, in no uncertain terms, that the new airport is not up to safety regulations. Therefore, V.G. Shelkovnikov, who headed the commission investigating the situation at Krasnoyarsk, was invited to the studio. He says: "The airport was accepted with many shortcomings. This definitely can be said. This applies to the aircrew, whose members are forced to live in abnormal conditions and even more important, this large town does not have a contemporary airport complex. There is no question about it. The second question posed by the "Restructuring Spotlight": Why the haste in transferring all air traffic from the northern, inner city airport, to the supposedly ill-prepared (?Cherishamka)? In this respect, the commission feels that the Restructuring Spotlight program is incorrect. This does need to take place quickly, and without delay."

Komarova reminds Shelkovnikov that the decision to move the airport beyond the city limits was made in 1968. Twenty years have elapsed, why the hurry to move to a badly prepared location? Furthermore, she asks, is it possible to make the existing facilities absolutely safe. Shelkovnikov says: "Yes. The commission has implemented measures to ensure safe flying within the Krasnoyarsk airspace. Besides, I wish to tell you that, starting from 1 September, we shall assume strictly nonconflicting flight paths, which were recommended by the International Civic Aviation Organization, so as to fully ensure flight safety at Krasnoyarsk Airport."

Komarova then says that her program did have the effect of speeding up the project. To which Shelkovnikov replies: "Yes, the work is now going ahead at full speed on all fronts. The construction workers are repairing what is necessary. Moreover, the contractor is doing most of this free of charge, attesting to the fact that he is

responsible. The work to build an automated air traffic control system has been speeded up and the goal is that it will be functioning in time for the next summer season."

Estonians Want Economic Independence for Republic
WA18000421 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 26 May 88 p 3

[Article by Yu. Kraft and Ya. Leimane under the "Toward the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU" rubric: "With a Constructive and Dynamic Economic Program!"]

[Text] In advance of the 19th all-union party conference there has been a substantial increase in the activity and strengthening of the hopes for the future of all the country's citizens, including those of Estonian SSR, and they have now reached their apex in electing delegates to the conference and in shaping the proposals which they are to present. A large number of constructive proposals worth carrying out have been made during the last year in the Estonian SSR. We have a valuable pool of ideas waiting to be applied.

We adhere to the opinion that the most important of those ideas is the basic and fundamental one of establishing republic economic independence, of replacing administrative methods by economic methods of management, which needs to be implemented very soon. Our proposal is that it be the central idea which our republic's delegation substantiates and presents at the party conference and that it advocate its very speedy implementation.

In the light of the real state of affairs we feel that this idea should be implemented in stages.

In the first stage, covering 1989 and 1990, the following:

1) The entire physical production of Estonian SSR would be subordinated to the republic (except the defense industry), including production based on minerals, that production programs of enterprises and farms be radically altered, guided by integration of science and production and nature, and the Law on the Enterprise fully introduced;

2) Realization of all material values produced at enterprises under republic jurisdiction would be transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic, including its capability of dealing with all matters related to the proportions of intra- and extrarepublic sales on the basis of the market, the principle of mutual advantage and all-union state orders in a volume not to exceed 20-30 percent of the consumer goods produced;

3) The handling of all export and import operations conducted by enterprises and organizations of the republic and also use of incoming foreign exchange and organization of credit relations with foreign countries be transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic;

4) A procedure would be established whereby raw materials, supplies, and equipment could be freely purchased outside the republic, and all material values and services rendered outside the republic would be sold at negotiated prices so as to take into account the conditions on the market and price proportions.

In making these proposals we are guided by the fact that the revolutionary chain reaction in the economy needs a "critical mass" whose existence will be guaranteed by simultaneous and rapid realization of the ideas set forth above.

In the second stage, i.e. beginning with the 13th 5-Year Plan, would come realization of the proposals ensuing from the draft now being prepared concerning the republic's full cost accounting, the conception of which should be set forth at the 19th party conference and its approval obtained. The draft of the decree on carrying out the republic's conversion to full cost accounting should be submitted to the 28th party congress.

In setting forth this two-stage constructive economic program, we are deeply convinced that restructuring can be accomplished in the various regions of the USSR at differing rates and with differing content. Efforts need to be made in the republic to introduce economic methods of management at a rate that exceeds the union rate, since implementation of all the decisions adopted up to now, including the decisions of the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, has failed to achieve a radical turnaround in the economy.

It has to be explained at the 19th party conference that Estonian SSR is potentially ready for a bold risk. In case of success, Estonian SSR would become a truly experimental union republic, and it would disseminate the practice of economic activity at a higher level to the other union republics.

In carrying out the economic program that has been set forth, reliance should be placed on the changes that have already been initiated in the economy, on the programs for political change that are to be drafted at the 19th Party Conference and in subsequent stages, and V.I. Lenin's statement should be realized to the effect that "...the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should be represented only concerning military and diplomatic relations, while the full independence of the individual people's commissariats should be established in all other relations" (V.I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 34, pp 361-362).

We adhere to the line that this kind of model of a future authentic union of soviet and socialist republics could be implemented even in the 1st half of the nineties if the people and the soviets they elect deem it necessary.

We hope that the upcoming plenum of the Estonian Communkst Party Central Committee will discuss the program proposed, that the delegation elected by the plenum will be quick to achieve the support of the republic's party organization and make proper preparations for a worthy defense of this program in Moscow at the 19th party conference, zealously seeking out even during the conference people of like mind and advocates from among the highest leaders and scientists of the Soviet Union.

Scientific

'Cosmos-1960' Satellite Launched 28 Jul

LD2907064488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0631 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jul (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-1960," was launched in the USSR on Thursday by a "Cosmos" rocket launcher. The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—94.5 minutes.

Maximum distance from the earth—518 km.

Minimum distance—475 km.

Orbital inclination—65.9 degrees.

In addition to scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus. The apparatus installed on the satellite is working normally.

Cosmonauts Continue Activities in Space

LD2907093388 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have been working in orbit for 221 days. Along with discharging the Progress-37 automatic cargo spacecraft and preventive maintenance operations on board the orbital complex Mir, the crew continue to implement the scientific programme of the flight.

Several series of astrophysical experiments have been conducted over the past two days by means of orbital observatory Roentgen. The X-ray pulsar Hercules X-1 was the object of research. The cosmonauts also carried out a regular cycle of measurements of fluxes of elementary charged particles in the near-earth space and a number of technical experiments.

In accordance with the medical control plan, the cosmonauts underwent a medical check up, including an estimate of the functional condition of the cardiovascular system, an eyesight test, and microbiological research.

The state of Vladimir Titov's and Musa Manarov's health is good. They continue their work in orbit.

Glavkosmos Activities, Prospects Outlined

LD2907054588 Moscow TASS in English 0526 GMT 29 Jul 88

["Prospects for Commercial Cooperation in Outer Space"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—The Soviet Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research Glavkosmos now cooperates with more than 20 countries.

The first spacecraft launched on a commercial basis was the Indian satellite IRS-1A. It was put into orbit by the Soviet booster rocket Vostok on March 17, 1988.

Glavkosmos is now negotiating cooperation on a commercial basis with leading firms of West Germany and France in the field of space technology.

The 30-year-old record of space exploration by the Soviet Union and the creation of a developed space industry make possible mutually advantageous commercial activities.

They cover such fields as information on resources of various regions, the production of materials in weightlessness and high vacuum, launches of spacecrafts, and provision with satellite communication channels.

In mid-July, representatives of several international insurance companies and U.S. British, West German and Italian experts visted the Soviet launch site Baykonur in Kazakhstan.

The interest of Western businessmen in Soviet space technology, no doubt, is due to its high technological level.

Thus, stationary photo cameras installed in Soviet orbital stations made pictures of more than 300 million square kilometres of land, which brought about 100 million roubles in profits.

The orbital station Mir, which carries much more diversified onboard equipment than other Soviet stations, is expected to bring profits that would be serveral times higher.

Briefs

New Soviet Telescope

The world's biggest radio telescope working in the millimeter-range is being assembled on the Soviet Central Asian plateau of (?Soupal) 2,300 meters above sea level. Its antenna will be 70 meters in diameter. Working together with a radio telescope now in orbit around the earth, the new telescope will help photograph galaxies, study black holes, and observe the birth of stars. [Text] [*LD2807015288 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Jul 88*]

Military

Stalin's Naval Commander Restored to Rank

LD2707110288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 27 Jul 88

[From the press review]

[Text] Here is a report carried by both PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA today.

Restored to rank: The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to restore to Vice Admiral Gerasimovich Kuznetsov his previous military title of Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union.

I very much want to draw your attention to this report, which is very brief, but which is of great significance for all of us, comrades. Nikolay Gerasimovich Kuznetsov is a historic figure. He was the first People's Commissar of the Navy. He was in charge of our Navy during the years of the Great Patriotic War. He did a great deal of useful things for the Navy.

This is the example I want to give: PRAVDA recently described how our atomic bombs were made. Anatoliy Petrovich Aleksandrov described how they were being developed by physicists, and how there was a whole range of scientific instruments to defend warships, and Kuznetsov hampered them in introducing this innovation. Indeed, they were subsequently introduced and put to successful use.

Meanwhile, Kuznetsov was a man who disobeyed the orders of Stalin and who declared combat readiness on warships on 22 June, the day the war broke out; that is why our Navy did not actually sustain losses during the first days of the war. That was his achievement.

So, here you have diverse data. And, you know, as far as I am concerned, the picture of this man is revealed from this information: a man who did not simply obey orders, but also had a rational approach to what he did and was a rational commander, for which he is well known.

In 1956 he was demoted to vice admiral. The fact that his rank has now been restored is a great victory for all his friends and relatives, among whom are many writers; he was a writer himself. I congratulate you, comrades.

Admiral Chernavin Speaks at Navy Day Assembly

LD2807222088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On Sunday our country will be celebrating Soviet Navy Day. A festive assembly dedicated to this holiday was held in Moscow today in the Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army. Taking part in it were representatives of the Moscow public and servicemen from the capital's garrison. Speaking at the assembly, Admiral of the Fleet Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and deputy USSR defense minister, stressed that Soviet Navymen are reliably and vigilantly keeping watch in the expanses of the world ocean and are performing their sacred duty to the Soviet people with honor.